THE PUNJAUB

HENRY STEINBACH



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BEING

A BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF

THE COUNTRY OF THE SIKHS

BY

LT.-COLONEL HENRY STEINBACH

With an introduction by

W. H. McLEOD

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INTRODUCTION

HENRY STEINBACH, AUTHOR OF AN INDIFFERENT BOOK ON THE PUNJAB, WHO, IN SPITE OF EXCHANGING THE SERVICE OF RUNJEET SINGH'S SUCCESSORS FOR THAT OF GULAB SINGH OF CASHMERE, WAS ALWAYS AT THE END OF HIS RESOURCES AND NEVER CEASED TO IMPORTUNE AVITABLE FOR MONEY TO ESCAPE HOMEWARDS.

—JULIAN JAMES COTTON, 1906.[1]

Of the many foreigners employed in the Punjab by Maharaja Ranjit Singh few are remembered today. Ventura, Allard, Court, and Avitable retain a measure of fame and to this brief list the names of Honigberger, Harlan, Foulkes, and Gardiner might reasonably be added. They constitute, however a very small proportion of the total number. More than 100 Europeans were employed by Ranjit Singh during the last two decades of his reign.[2] Most of these men were obscure adventurers who even as servants of the celebrated Maharaja retained their modest insignificance. Many have evidently vanished without trace, leaving record neither of their names nor of their fate.

One of these obscure men who did leave a visible trace was the Prussian soldier Henry Steinbach who served under Ranjit Singh and his successors from 1835 or 1836 until 1851. Nothing is known of his

life prior to his arrival in the Punjab, his service was notably undistinguished, and following his final departure from India he once again disappeared from sight. Although he thus shares with the great majority of his colleagues a dim and fragmentary record he differs from most of them in that he left a personal memorial. This was his slender volume *The Punjaub*, an achievement which has at least ensured the recurrent appearance of his name in successive lists of books on the Sikhs.[3]

Little use has ever been made of Steinbach's book apart from the occasional quarrying of a detail concerning the Sikh army. Most authorities would probably dismiss it with as little grace and ceremony as Cotton. Disdain of this order is understandable if one views the book in terms of originality or as a source of reliable information on the Sikh kingdom and its people. In these respects, and in others, the book falls well short of an acceptable standard. It would, however, be foolish and unjust to treat the work as unworthy of consideration. For anyone interested in the Punjab of the annexation period it is certainly interesting. In several respects it deserves to be regarded as informative and in one particular sense it is unique.

The fall of the Sikh kingdom

The ruler who drew so many foreign mercenaries into his service was a remarkable man, one who attracted the fascinated attention of numerous travellers, soldiers, and diplomats. European visitors to his court almost invariably dwell upon his unprepossessing appearance, his smallpox-pitted

face with its single eye, his persistent questions, his delight in dancing-girls, and his impressive capacity for the most ardent spirits. Steinbach is, in this respect, a disgruntled exception and yet even he finds space to transcribe exchanges which he claims to be representative of Ranjit Singh's conduct in court.[4]

Although fascinated by the appearance and manners of Ranjit Singh most European observers did not limit their comments to features of the Maharaja which were, after all, comparatively trivial. They were also interested in his conspicuous success as a military leader and, in some instances, by what they interpreted as a failure in terms of civil administration and provision for an orderly succession. His military achievements were obvious. Ranjit Singh had begun his career as a comparatively minor *misaldar*, leader of one of the Sikh warrior bands (*misls*), which had effectively partitioned the Punjab during the confused circumstances of the later eighteenth century. Inheriting the Shukerchakia *misl* from his father Ranjit Singh had by the end of the century conquered or otherwise absorbed all his rivals north and west of the Satluj river, and in 1801 he assumed the title of Maharaja. To this substantial nucleus he subsequently added Multan, Kashmir and Peshawar, thereby creating the kingdom which excited the interest and qualified admiration of the advancing British.

It was, of course, a reciprocal interest. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the British

were too close to the Punjab to be ignored and Ranjit Singh's policies reflected this situation. Notable amongst these policies was his decision to create an army on European lines. Ventura and Allard were employed in 1822 as the first of his European officers and with their assistance he began the transformation of his military forces. From one point of view he was apparently successful. Although the new army was never put to a serious test during his own lifetime it presented convincing displays of strength and efficiency. For this achievement, however, a considerable financial price had to be paid. Whereas Ranjit Singh succeeded in creating an impressive army on European lines he failed to provide his state with adequate long-term means of paying for it. This failure in revenue administration coupled with an evident unwillingness to train a successor, was set in sharp contrast to Ranjit Singh's earlier successes. Alexander Burnes succinctly expressed an opinion shared by several other visitors.

> It appears to me that Runjeet Singh, in his career, will have raised, formed, and destroyed a government.[5]

This was, needless to say, the opinion of an interested party. Burnes represented the East India Company, and the Company's servants made no secret of their interest in the future of the Punjab. Trade prospects, a concern for 'natural' frontiers, and the chimerical fear of Russian intentions combined to render Punjabi affairs an object of much attention. This, however, leaves the truth of Burnes' prediction unaffected. Events following the death

of Ranjit Singh in 1839 rapidly confirmed it.

In the turmoil which so speedily overtook the Punjab three families must be distinguished, although it should not be assumed that familial loyalty was a notable feature of the period. The first was that of the deceased Maharaja. Within the short space of five years three of his sons were to sit on his throne. A wife, a daughter-in-law and a grandson were also to play important roles. The second was the family of Dogra rajas from Jammu, notably Dhian Singh and Gulab Singh. Dhian Singh had occupied a ministerial position of major importance under Ranjit Singh and he retained this prominence until his assassination in 1843. Gulab Singh, who survived to rule Kashmir, deserves special mention as the last of Steinbach's Indian employers. Finally there were the Sandhavalia sardars, three brothers who took a notable part in the disturbances of the period.

The story of their intrigues and assassinations may be quickly told.[6] Kharak Singh, the son and heir of the deceased Maharaja, lasted only four months before being effectively displaced by his own son Nau Nihal Singh. The latter was himself killed by a fall of masonry when returning from his father's funeral in November 1840, and with the support of Gulab Singh his place as ruler was taken by his widow, Chand Kaur. The short rule of Chand Kaur terminated two months later when Sher Singh, another of the old Maharaja's sons, ejected her with the assistance of Dhian Singh. His brother Gulab Singh was permitted to

withdraw to Kashmir, secretly carrying in his baggage the greater portion of the Lahore treasury. Sher Singh survived until September 1843 when together with his infant son and Dhian Singh he was assassinated by the Sandhavalia brothers. Already, however, the army had mutinied over arrears of pay which Sher Singh with his empty treasury was unable to pay. Thereafter the soldiers of the Khalsa armies remained beyond the reach of effective discipline. European officers became a prime target for their resentment, as Steinbach so ruefully acknowledges.[7]

The Sandhavalias were soon overcome by Hira Singh and Suchet Singh, respectively the son and the brother of Dhian Singh. The youngest of Ranjit Singh's surviving sons, the child Dalip Singh, was placed on the throne and Hira Singh as chief minister managed to survive until December 1844 when he too was assassinated. Dalip Singh's mother, Rani Jindan, assumed control in his place, only to be ejected by the army in September 1845. The army, in spite of its own internal confusion, now attempted to govern directly. Within three months it was involved in what the British were to call the first Sikh War.

The war which began in December 1845 had been long expected. On one side of the Satluj river there was civil anarchy and a leaderless, undisciplined army. On the other there was the Company with its concern for trade and secure frontiers. Four pitched battles were fought during the course of the brief conflict: Mudki and Ferozshahr in December,

Aliwal in January 1846, and Sobraon in February. The war ended with the Treaty of Lahore in March 1846.

Steinbach's second edition concludes with the Battle of Sobraon. In view of his explicit support for for annexation he would presumably have been disappointed by the terms of the treaty which followed. Gratification was, however, at hand. Following the second Sikh War in 1848-49 Dalip Singh was deposed and the process of annexation completed. Meanwhile a separate treaty had been signed with Gulab Singh in March 1846. In exchange for a handsome cash payment this settlement provided him with a title to the state of Kashmir.

Steinbach's India career

Steinbach's comparative insignificance as a mercenary has already been noted. Whereas European visitors make repeated references to Ventura, Allard, Court, and Avitabile the presence of the inconspicuous Prussian seems normally to have passed unnoticed. A rare exception to this rule was his fellow-Prussian von Orlich who merely lists him as one of a group of dinner-guests, mis-spelling his name as he does so. Writing to Alexander von Humboldt on January 12th, 1843, he mentions a dinner given two days previously by Lord Ellenborough's ambassador Maddock for 'all the Europeans in Shere Singh's service'. Amongst the guests appears the name of 'Colonel Steineck'.[8]

A brief note on Steinbach is appended to Pearse's 1898 edition of the *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*,[9] and in 1929 Grey devoted two pages to such details

of his career as available in the Punjab Records.[10] According to Grey's account Steinbach entered the service of Ranjit Singh in 1836. Although the greater part of his service passed unnoticed it appears that he was stationed at Peshawar in 1838 and again in 1841. Between these two postings he was in Lahore at least once as Honigberger mentions his presence there during the funeral of Ranjit Singh in 1839.[11] Most of the available detail concentrates upon the humiliating events which resulted from widespread indiscipline within the Khalsa armies in 1841.[12] Having rescued a colleague Major Ford from mutineering soldiers[13] Steinbach was himself arraigned by his own troops and required to proceed to Lahore. There he was to notify Sher Singh of their demands and should he fail to secure satisfaction the troops would, on his return, express their opinion of their commander by urinating on him.[14]

The precise identity of these troops is not entirely clear. They constituted what was known as the 'Kashmir battalion', but whereas one report declares them to have been Sikhs rather than Kashmiris[15] another claims that Steinbach was in command of Gurkhas.[16] The English observer Mackenzie evidently assumed that they were Sikhs and this can probably be accepted as accurate.[17] Whatever their identity there seems to have have been no doubt of their intentions. Steinbach evidently abandoned his command, leaving them to the genial cunning of his Neapolitan colleague Avitabile. Having given every appearance of

accepting the soldiers' demands Avitabile secretly engaged Afghan and Pathan tribesmen to attack them by night. Three hundred and thirty Sikhs died in the engagement.[18]

When Steinbach arrived in Lahore he was given charge of Ford's battalion, its commander having died of the injuries inflicted by the mutineers. This took him back to the north-west, but indiscipline continued unabated and eventually he was compelled to return with the battalion to Lahore in 1843. Grey claims that he took leave in London during that same year, returning to the Punjab in May 1844. Failing to secure re-instatement in the Khalsa service he entered the employment of Gulab Singh in Kashmir. There he remained until 1851, in which year he resigned as a protest against his displacement by an Indian commander. An appeal to Dalhousie produced a reminder of Gulab Singh's independence and a suggestion that the Indian incumbent may well have been more competent than his predecessor. An indignant Steinbach visited Simla to present his protest in person. Having done so he returned to Europe and obscurity.[19]

Streinbach is notably reticent concerning his personal experiences in the Punjab, possibly because such reminiscences would involve unhappy reminders of the humiliation he evidently endured. The only direct allusions are a brief reference in his preface to '"a nine years" residence among the Sikhs'[20] and a parenthetic description of 'the author having on one occasion marched with his regiment a distance of 300 miles within twelve

days'.[21] Although, as one would expect, considerable stress is laid on the growth of military indiscipline the nearest he comes to an admission of personal involvement is a suspiciously general description of the European officers' response. Following a reference to the deaths of Foulkes and Ford he comments:

> It was the intention of the troops to have sacrificed the lives of all the European officers; but most of them having obtained information of this diabolical project, the attempts were frustrated by corresponding energy.[22]

All one can do is draw inferential conclusions from the bitter stricture which he passes on the Sikh soldiery and their government.[23]

In one respect, however, Steinbach's book points very clearly to a particular episode, contradicting as it does so, Grey's chronology. The prefaces to the two editions of *The Pūnjab* plainly declare that their author was in London in June 1845 and March 1846.[24] This means that he must have proceeded on leave later than Grey allows. Honigberger confirms this assumption. He reports that his own younger brother arrived from Transylvania in February 1844, but that he remained only a short time. Appreciating that the confused situation in the Punjab offered no prospect of employment he soon returned to Europe. This he did 'accompanied by Colonel Steinbach'.[25]

Although Honigberger does not specify the actual date of their departure it seems clear from his terminology that the year 1844 cannot have been far advanced. This indicates that Steinbach's leave

must have extended over a period approaching two years in length. In also suggests that if his reference to 'a nine years' residence among the Sikhs' is to be taken literally, the year of his arrival in the Punjab must have been 1835 rather than 1836.

The area of doubt also extends to the date of Steinbach's return from leave. It must obviously have been later than March 1846 (the date of his second London preface) which means that Gulab Singh would have been the acknowledged Maharaja of Kashmir by the time he arrived back in the Punjab. There is no evidence to suggest that he entered Gulab Singh's Service prior to taking leave in Europe. We may accordingly conclude that he undertook his new appointment following his return to India, and with due caution we may add that this probably took place in late 1846.

The record of Steinbach's life is thus brief, patchy, and uncertain, a muted commentary on the undistinguished career of a minor Prussian mercenary. Had Steinbach never written *The Punjab* his name would assuredly have passed into virtual oblivion. No portait appears to have survived and the few retrievable details of his life tell us comparatively little about the man. It is his book which alone must serve as his memorial. As we shall see it is scarcely an impressive testament.

Steinbach's purpose

Steinbach declares the reason for writing his small volume in the first and last sentences of its preface.

The extreme ignorance which appears to prevail in England

regarding a country which we learn, by each succeeding overland mail from India, is acquiring additional political interest in the eyes of the British Government, has led to the preparation of the following pages . . . . The Author and Compiler of the following work does not profess to be alive to the intentions of the British Government in respect to the Punjaub, but he thinks the annexation of that extensive and fertile territory to the provinces of British India so necessary and unavoidable a result (sooner or later) of its present state of disruption that he regards it as a duty to give his countrymen the clearest notion of the Sikh state it is in his power to convey.[26]

The Punjab is, he asserts, characterized by administrative disarray, cruel taxation, vicious corruption, the exactions of a 'rabble soldiery', peasant misery, and mercantile paralysis.[27] The same applies to its dependencies, particularly Kashmir which suffers 'Sikh tyranny and misgoverment'.[28] Because the existing government of the Punjab is plainly unable to remedy this disastrous state of affairs the British must accept the responsibility of doing so by means of annexation and the imposition of despotic justice. The 'Sikh soldiers' will naturally resent this 'death-blow to their licentious and reckless habits' but the Muslims of the Punjab will welcome a change of masters and the Hindus 'would become equally reconciled to a just and equitable system of government'.[29] It is therefore the duty of the British to act.

Indeed the general opinion of the best informed authorities, namely, the European officers lately in the Lahore service, is, that tranquility never can be permanently established in the Punjaub until under the firm rule of the British government, whose interference, it is fully anticipated, will, ere long, become unavoidable.[30]

For this reason *The Punjaub* is placed before the British public.

Although one may so easily smile at such loftly declarations there is no compelling reason to doubt their author's sincerity. The question of annexation was very much alive in 1845 and others had been reaching the same conclusion as Steinbach.[31] One may, however, suspect that personal pique had some effect upon his resolve. His experience of humiliation seems certainly to have affected the manner of his expression and presentation. It may also have strengthened any inclinations he had to write a tract in support of annexation.

The speed with which a second edition succeeded the first suggests that *The Punjaub* found a receptive market following its first appearance in 1845. In view of current British interest in the Punjab this is scarcely surprising. The fact that the enlarged second edition presented reports of the first Sikh War so soon after the event probably ensured a continuation of sales for at least a few months. It appears, however, that any popularity it may have enjoyed must have been short-lived. Whereas works of greater substance could hope to survive for several years or longer this small volume with its topical appeal soon slipped into insignificance. Cunningham noted it briefly in order to rebuke its author.[32] Thereafter it receives little attention.

The Writing of 'The Punjaub'

The Punjaub is plainly a book written within a very short space of time. This may reflect Steinbach's

ignorance of literary standards or perhaps an awareness that others might seek to exploit current interest in the Punjab and Kashmir. Whatever the reason the result is in considerable measure a scissors and paste product, one which demonstrates only limited literary or journalistic skill. Portions of chapters III and IV present a readable narrative, and the two which follow possess a measure of order and consistency which may reasonably be traced to the author's own endeavours. For the most part, however, the book comprises selections of seldom acknowledged extracts from other men's works, supplemented by a number of anecdotes.

An analysis of chapter VII will serve to illustrate the weakness of much of Steinbach's work in terms of planning and presentation. The chapter begins with a personal observation to the effect that despotism is the form of government best suited to the Sikhs and then, apparently unaware of the consequent contradiction, its author proceeds to a brief description of the gross inequities of Ranjit Singh's despotic revenue system. The point which he seeks so ineptly to make is, of course, the merit of European despotism as opposed to its Sikh counterpart.

An abrupt and clumsy change is then made from government to army. Although the topics included in this military section are covered very unevenly they do at least provide a comparatively original and reliable treatment as Steinbach is now firmly on his own ground. After several pages, however, the flow is suddenly disrupted. In the midst of a

description of the Sikh cavalry and without even a change of paragraph Steinbach suddenly launches into the essentially irrelevant story of Akbar Khan's skirmish with the Sikhs at Peshawar in 1837.

"An anecdote occurs to the writer at this moment..."[33]

They are words which the reader has little difficulty in believing.

Having related his anecdote at some length Steinbach reverts to his description of the army and from his own experience describes both the endurance and the indiscipline of the Sikh soldiers. This is followed by a plagiarised and wholly unacknowledged account of the Akalis copied with only slight amendments from W.G. Osborne's *The Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing.*[34] At its conclusion another abrupt change takes place and the reader finds himself back on the subject of civil administration without even the benefit of a complete sentence to mark the transition.

To revert to the subject of civil government.[35] The brief treatment of revenue assessment, octroi, and justice which follows stresses the capricious nature (as Steinbach sees it) of the Sikh administration. The actual material, if not the interpretation, is derived from Murray's appendix to Prinsep's *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab*, a debt which is acknowledged with reference to only one particular point.

Finally, he concludes as he began with a personal opinion

This is but a rough outline of the system of internal government,

> but it is all that can be said upon the subject at a time when anarchy is so rife, that rule of any kind is purely nominal.[36]

Plainly he is wrong, for it is by no means all that could have been said on the subject. If the author's intention were to portray iniquity this chapter may conceivably have achieved its purpose. In terms of accurate information and balanced presentation, however, it leaves a great deal to be desired. Much of the remainder of the book is written in the same erratic style, heavily dependent for its content upon the published works of predecessors.

Sources

Steinbach is honest enough to name most of the earlier works upon which he relied when writing *The Punjaub*. This he does not through his footnotes (which are lamentably inadequate in terms both of frequency and of detail) but in his preface.

> The authorities chiefly consulted - where the notes of the Author himself were scanty or his recollections imperfect - have been Prinsep, Von Hugel, Murray, Sir John Malcolm, and Edward Thornton; the latter of whom not long since published *A Gazetteer of all the Countries West of the Indus* (sic), replete with the results of diligent research.[37]

Evidence of any extensive use of von Hugel is slight, but to the remaining authors he owes a substantial debt. Extensive use has also been made of contemporary newspaper files, particularly for the supplementary material added to the second edition.

Although Steinbach implies that much of *The Punjaub* was written on the basis of his own notes and recollections the reverse is in fact the case. Such

a claim might reasonably be attached to portions of chapters III, IV, VII, and IX, but for much the greater part of the work he obviously wrote with books or newspapers open in front of him. Forty percent of the first edition comprises verbatim transcription from earlier works and much of the remainder betrays by word, phrase and content a direct debt to the same range of identifiable sources. In the second edition the proportion of verbatim quotation rises to fifty percent.

When quoting from the works of predecessors Steinbach follows no consistent pattern. In one rare instance he gives not merely the author's name, but also the title of his book.[38] Normally, however, he cites merely the author's surname and in several cases he acknowledges no debt whatsoever. Court's description of the Akalis has already been noted as an example of plagiarism. Further examples occur as appendices to the first edition. The first of these is principally derived from Prinsep and the second, including its footnotes, from Thornton's *Gazetteer*.[39]

The appendix taken from Prinsep illustrates another form of inconsistency. Whereas the 'Table of Heights of Mountains in the Punjab' proves to be a carefully exact copy from Thornton the material borrowed from Prinsep has been edited and amended without any indication of the points at which such changes are made. The result is a selection of paragraphs drawn from four different sections of Prinsep's book. These are preceded, linked and concluded by sentences which Steinbach himself inserted. Apart from the word 'republica-

tion' in the opening sentence there is no hint that the appendix is the work of anyone than Steinbach himself, and no indication is given of the editorial links which he to inserts to give his selection some continuity. A lengthy extract from Murray which constitutes the substance of Chapter VIII is treated rather more circumspectly in that the original author is at least identified and no supplementary passages have been inserted. The manner of presentation does, however, conceal the fact that an apparently connected passage is in reality an edited selection.[40] As always no reference is made to the page numbers of the original.

The second of the plagiarised appendices points up yet another misleading feature of Steinbach's use of his sources. Were one to remain unaware of the source of the table one would assume that Steinbach had himself consulted the various works listed in its footnotes. The same device also occurs in the main text of the book. On pages 88-89 Moorcroft and von Hugel are cited in a comparison of shawl prices. Exactly the same comparison, complete with accurate references, appears in Thornton's *Gazetteer* in words which clearly identify it as Steinbach's source.[41] The same source almost certainly provided Steinbach with a quotation from Burnes on page 111, and another from Moorcroft on page 113.[42]

Steinbach's failure to acknowledge many of his debts also conceals the origin of several passages which may charitably be called paraphrases. On page 159 he quite properly names Malcolm as the

source of a quotation introduced at that particular point. What he fails to indicafe is the fact that the greater part of the chapter containing the quotation owes its content and much of its wording to selected portions of the same author. Similarly a brief quotation from Thornton in chapter 1 falls well short of owning him as the source of the greater portion of the chapter's contents. Murray's name appears on page 107, apparently as the source of a single point. Here too a closer analysis reveals that much more of the section derives from the authority so scantly acknowledged.

In many instances the echoes sound with such distinct clarity that one hesitates to describe the result as a paraphrase. Steinbach describes the streets of Lahore in the following words:

> The streets of Lahore, like those of the native towns of India, are narrow and dirty. The houses are lofty, and are for the most part surrounded by dead walls...[43]

The origin is at once obvious when these words are compared with those of Thornton:

> The streets of Lahore, which are very narrow and filthy, contain numbers of lofty but gloomy houses, inclosed within extensive dead walls. [44]

It is ironical that whereas Streinbach must have known these streets reasonably well Thornton never set foot in the city.

The use which Steinbach makes of his small handful of sources is curiously haphazard. Thornton names the following as the chief towns of the Punjab: Lahore, Amritsar, Srinagar, Multan, Peshawar, Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan,

Jalandhar, Vazirabad, Leiah, Nurpur, Leh, Jhelum, Jalalpur, and Shujapur.[45] Steinbach accepts the first five of these, together with Vazirabad, but ignoring the remainder he introduces into his list of 'principal towns' the comparatively insignificant Muzaffarabad.[46] His use of Malcolm is similarly patchy. Whereas portions of *Sketch of the Sikhs* have obviously been consulted and utilised others have evidently been completely ignored with unhappy results in terms of balance.[47]

Steinbach's use of Thornton also serves to illustrate the carelessness with which he commonly read his sources. Two examples must suffice. 'The mineral wealth of the Punjaub,' claims Steinbach, 'is considerable'.[48] A more attentive reading of Thornton (whom plainly he seems to have consulted on this point) would have spared him the exaggeration.[49] His own personal knowledge ought to have saved him from an even more glaring error. Thornton, following Masson, ambiguously refers to Amritsar as Ranjit Singh's 'new capital' and then correctly as 'both the spiritual and commercial capital of his dominions'.[50] Steinbach, himself the servant of the Lahore Maharaja, declares Amritsar to have been 'the capital under Ranjit Singh'![51]

The same carelessness also extends to those portions of *The Punjaub* which apparently derive from Steinbach's own 'notes and recollections.' There were, he claims, 'several' interviews between Ranjit Singh and the Governor-General of India.[52] Two such meetings actually took place. On page 35 he reports that Ajit Singh Sandhavalia having assassi-

nated Maharaja Sher Singh, had his entire family murdered 'even to an infant born the day previous in the Zenana'.[53] Soon after, however, he quite correctly refers to a son of Sher Singh as still alive.[54] Steinbach is scarcely the most reliable of writers.

Steinbach and the Sikhs

Steinbach's unreliability as an interpreter of the Punjab and its people emerges most conspicuously in his treatment of the Sikhs. It is, in the first place, difficult to determine precisely what he means when referring to Sikhs. In one singularly confused passage he manages to imply first that the Sikhs form a part of the Hindu population; then that the term 'Sikh' is a synonym for 'Punjaubee'; and finally that the Sikhs are distinct from the Hindus. Describing the various peoples of the Punjab he writes:

> This population is composed of a great variety of races and religions; but the bulk may be said to be divided into Hindoos and Mahomedans, the former of whom are in the proportion of three to one of the latter.
>
> The Sikhs or Punjaubees, who form the mass of the regular resident population as distinct from the fluctuating visitors, are a handsome race of men, resembling Hindoos in general, but with a finer muscular development, and a more robust appearance...[55]

One category which appears to be clearly imprinted on his understanding is that of the 'Sikh soldiery', a species of mankind for whom he harboured little affection. Although he must certainly have been well aware of a Sikh peasantry and

mercantile class he makes no direct reference to them whatsoever. The nearest he comes to doing so is a passing mention of the 'Sikh landowners' who rebelled against Muslim domination during the eighteenth century.[56] It is almost certainly the 'Sikh soldiery' whom Steinbach has in mind whenever he attempts to describe the Sikhs. In making these attempts he proclaims a remarkable ignorance for one who had resided in the Punjab for nine years. Three aspects of treatment demonstrate this weakness all too clearly.

The first is the incidence of elementary errors concerning Sikh religion and society. Perhaps the most prominent of these appears on page 4 where Darbar Shahib (the famous Golden Temple) is described as 'a temple to Vishnu, one of the Sikh deities'! The fact that this particular error may be traced to Thornton's *Gazetteer*[57] provides no excuse. For one who had lived amongst Sikhs it suggests a lamentable lack of personal interest and enquiry, qualifications which scarcely equip Steinbach as a mediator of information concerning the Punjab.

Secondly, there are the omissions which disfigure his treatment of the Sikhs. One such omission deserves special mention. Although Steinbach occasionally uses the term 'Khalsa' he offers no evidence which might suggest that he understood its meaning. On page 39 he refers to 'the old Khalsa (state) chiefs' as if the word 'state' served as an adequate definition. Nowhere does he describe that climactic event in Sikh history, the inauguration of

the Khalsa brotherhood in 1699; and at no point does he show any awareness of either the nature or importance of its distinctive discipline.

Thirdly, there is his total dependence on Malcolm for most of his chapter 'The Religion of the Sikhs', a dependence which he exploits with his customary carelessness and erratic discretion. We are, for example, informed that Guru Nanak (*ob.* 1539) rose to prominence 'in the early part of the eighteenth century'.[58] Whereas Malcolm correctly has the succession from Nanak pass to 'a *Cshatriya* of the *Trehun* tribe, called Lehana . . . honoured with the name of Angad,'[59] Steinbach converts the second Guru into 'a low caste man, named Lehara', known thereafter as 'Argad'.[60] Although there can be no doubt that Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs* was before him as he wrote the use which he actually made of his single source was slipshod in the extreme.

It would thus be very difficult to extract from Steinbach's treatment a clear impression of what Sikhs really believe. When, however, he turns from belief to behaviour he attains a degree of clarity at once uncharacteristic and significant. A passage quoted directly from Malcolm appears to have been selected for its closing sentence. There is, Malcolm declares,

> hardly an infamy which this debauched and dissolute race are not accused, and I believe with justice, of committing in the most open and shameful manner.[61]

Having quoted this denunciation Steinbach significantly omits to add a countervailing comment by

Malcolm which would deprive it of much of its force.[62] This he presumably fails to do because the unqualified declaration corresponds so closely to his own personal view. It is an opinion which he has already set out in the most forthright of terms. Having noted the Sikh partiality for fiery liquor he continues:

This habit, added to others of a revolting character, places the Sikh very low in the scale of humanity ... The virtues which the Sikhs link to their heavy catalogue of vices, are few in number. Charity to faquirs (religious fanatics) constitutes almost their only good quality, and even this is the result of superstition.[63]

Criticism of Sikh morality by Europeans is common during this period, but (as in the case of Malcolm) it is normally muted by extenuating qualifications. Steinbach allows merely their fighting skills and their physical endurance.[64] In moral terms they are, in his patently biassed view, totally reprobate.

The importance of 'The Punjaub'

My present experience (wrote Baron von Hugel in 1836) taught me how it happens that so few Englishmen know anything of the manners or customs of that part of India which they have perhaps travelled over the best part of their lives. The truth is, they move from place to place, without giving themselves any concern, and generally by night, unlearning whatever correct ideas they may have brought out with them from their own country respecting India, and in their solitary tents kill time, which with them passes so slowly, by inventing sundry theories, which a just examination of things as they are, would speedily dispel from their minds.[65]

Although Steinbach was not an Englishman he seems nevertheless to supply impressive support

for the verdict pronounced by von Hugel as he travelled through the Punjab. He uses a narrow range of sources erratically and without proper care; he plagiarises; he commits serious errors of fact and omission; and he reveals a gross bias as far as the Sikhs (and the Kashmiris) are concerned. If one compares *The Punjaub* (1845 and 1846) with Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs* (1849) the verdict can never be in doubt. In terms of style, accuracy, documentation and sympathy Cunningham's work properly enjoys a reputation far more lustrous than that of *The Punjaub*.

This does not mean, however, that Steinbach's book possesses no importance beyond the few military details which it succeeds in communicating. Two reasons may be offered in support of its survival and continued use. One of these (a comparatively minor reason) would presumably have given the author some pleasure. The other would assuredly have evoked his indignation.

The minor reason concerns the form of the book. Whereas all other contemporary works dealing with the Punjab are essentially either histories or travel narratives *The Punjaub* is neither of these, at least not as far as its primary emphasis and intention are concerned. Steinbach's little volume is rather a manual or compendium, seeking to compress within a brief space a comprehensive range of information relating to the Sikh kingdom. In this respect it is unique for its period.

This alone, however, would scarcely amount to anything resembling significance. The book's

true importance derives not from the quantity or accuracy of its information but from the representative status of its author. Although Steinbach was of Prussian origin he consciously identified himself with the British and in terms of opinion and purpose he demonstrates a much stronger affinity with contemporary British attitudes than the Scotsman Cunningham. *The Punjaub* records opinions which are manifestly false and a bias which most would condemn as culpably extreme. These features may be acknowledged without affecting the claim that most of the British (and other Europeans) in the India of Steinbach's time would have entertained a substantially greater sympathy for his views than for those of the meticulous and fair-minded Cunningham.

These views are focussed upon a particular issue and in his treatment of this issue Steinbach explicitly spells out in print a conclusion which by 1845 commanded considerable acceptance in British India. His book is avowedly a justification statement supporting annexation of the Punjab, a justification based upon widely-held theories of oriental incompetence and barbarism. It is impossible to declare this a majority opinion amongst Steinbach's British contemporaries in India, for no means exists of determining what the majority in fact believed. There can be no doubt, however, that Steinbach accurately represents an opinion which was extensive in 1845 and triumphant in 1849. Because it expresses this view and defends it with biassed vigour *The Punjaub* retains an enduring importance.

W.H. McLEOD

NOTES

1. J. J. Cotton, art, 'General Avitabile' in *The Calcutta Review*, No. 246 (Oct. 1906), p. 577.
2. C. Grey, *European Adventures of Northern India 1785 to 1849*, Ed. H.L.O. Garrett (Lahore, 1929), p. 15.
3. The spelling 'Punjaub' and 'Punjaubee', commonly used in English works of Steinbach's period, did not necessarily imply faulty enunciation, although the same form has bequeathed to modern generations a widespread mispronunciation of the word Nepal. The same also applies to the word *nach*, converted as a result of this mis-spelling to 'nautch'. In addition to 'Punjaub' and 'Nepaul' Steinbach's usage includes 'Caubal' and 'Juggernauth'. Elphinstone, writing in 1838, used such forms as 'Moultaun' and 'Afghaunistaun'. Cf the archaic 'chaunt'.
4. H. Steinbach, *The Punjaub*, chap. IX, pp. 129-52. Unless otherwise specified all references are to the second edition (1846), the text which is reproduced in the present volume.
5. Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara* (London, 1834), II. 283.
6. For a graphic narrative of the period see Khushwant Singh, *The Fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab* (Calcutta, 1962).
7. Steinbach pp. 30-31.
8. L. von Orlich, *Travels in India* (London, 1845), I. 230.
9. H. Pearse (ed.), *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner* (Edinburgh and London, 1898), Appendix 'Ranjit Singh and his White Officers', p. 351.
10. Grey, op. cit., pp. 325-26. There are also passing references to Steinbach on pp. 140 and 329. Another brief description of his career is given in Prem Singh Hoti,

Khalsa raj de badesi karinde (Amritsar, 1945), pp. 194-95.

11. J. M. Honigberger; *Thirty-five Years in the East* (London, 1852), p. 101.
12. Pearse, op. cit. p. 351, places these events in 1843.
13. This detail is recorded by Grey on p. 329.
14. Delicately refraining from using such a coarse expression Grey directs his readers to the method whereby Gulliver extinguished the fire in the Lilliput palace.
15. Grey, op. cit., p. 140.
16. Ibid, p. 329.
17. Cotton, op. cit., pp. 551-53.
18. Ibid, p. 553.
19. Grey, op. cit., p. 326.
20. Steinbach, p. iii.
21. Ibid, p. 100.
22. Ibid, p. 31.
23. Ibid, pp. 30ff, 89-93, 104-5, 112-14, 129.
24. Ibid, p. iv in both editions.
25. Honigberger, op. cit., pp. 174-75. The date given in the text is actually 1814, but the 'index' (p. 213) makes it clear that this misprint should read 1844.
26. Steinbach, 1845 edition, pp. iii, iv. The first sentence is abbreviated in the 1846 edition.
27. See esp. ibid, pp. 92-93.
28. Ibid, p. 89.
29. Ibid, p. 94.
30. Ibid, 1845 edition. p. 42. This paragraph was replaced in the 1846 edition by an extension of chapter IV.
31. Cf Baron Charles von Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab* (London, 1845, repr. Patiala, 1970), pp. 223 (diary entry for 26 December 1835) 410-14. Von Orlich, op. cit., I. 179-80.
32. J. D. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs* (London, 1849, reprt. Delhi, 1955), pp. 159-60.
33. Steinbach. p. 101.
34. Loc. cit. (London, 1840), pp. 143-46. Steinbach, pp. 104-6.

35. Ibid, p. 106.
36. Ibid, p. 109.
37. Ibid, pp. iii-iv. The works so briefly cited by Steinbach are : Henry T. Prinsep, *Origins of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (Calcutta, 1834; repr. Patiala, 1970). Baron Charles von Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab* (London, 1845; repr. Patiala, 1970). Captain W. Murray's note 'On the Manners, Rules, and Customs of the Sikhs', included as an appendix in Prinsep, op. cit. Brigadier General John Malcolm, 'Sketch of the Sikhs' in *Asiatick Researches*, vol. 11 (Calcutta, 1810; repr. in book form, London, 1812). Edward Thornton, *A Gazetteer of the Countries adjacent to India on the North-west* (London, 1844). The carelessness evident in the misnaming of Thornton's work is characteristic of Steinbach's style. Most of the book published under Prinsep's name is in fact the work of Murray. See J. D. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 118n.
38. [J. H.] Stocqueler, *Memorials of Affghanistan* (Calcutta, 1843). Steinbach, p. 139.
39. Prinsep, op. cit. (Patiala, 1970), pp. 45-60, 125-27 *passim*. Thornton, op. cit., II. 120-23. In the 1846 edition an extra appendix is inserted between the two. 'Table of Heights of Mountains in the Punjaub' thus becomes the third appendix in the second edition.
40. Steinbach, pp. 114-28. Prinsep (Murray's appendix), op. cit., pp. 156-70 *passim*.
41. Thornton I. 363. Hugel's reference to sacred bats cited by Steinbach on p. 84 may also have reached him via Thornton. Ibid, II. 131.
42. Ibid, II. 133, I. 368-69.
43. Steinbach, p. 4.
44. Thornton, II. 14.
45. Ibid, II. 139-40.
46. Steinbach, p. 6.
47. Steinbach concentrates his attention on pp. 200-18, 262-64, 275-78, 284-88 of Malcolm.

48. Steinbach, p. 84.
49. Thornton I. 345, II. 119.
50. Ibid II. 14, 15. Charles Masson, *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, and the Panjab* (London, 1842), correctly identifies Lahore as 'the capital of the Panjab' (I. 408) and Amritsar as 'the favourite religious capital' (I. 415).
51. Steinbach, p. 2.
52. Ibid, p. 139.
53. Ibid, p. 35.
54. Ibid, pp. 44, 45.
55. Ibid, pp. 111-12.
56. Ibid, p. 10.
57. Thornton, I. 55.
58. Steinbach, p. 153.
59. Malcolm, p. 208. Italics in original.
60. Steinbach, p. 155.
61. Ibid, p. 161. Malcolm, p. 264.
62. Malcolm, pp. 259-60.
63. Steinbach, pp. 112-13.
64. Ibid, pp. 103-4.
65. Hugel, op. cit. (Patiala, 1970), p. 256.

THE PUNJAUB;

BEING

A BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF

THE COUNTRY OF THE SIKHS;

ITS EXTENT, HISTORY, COMMERCE, PRODUCTIONS, GOVERNMENT, MANUFACTURES, LAWS, RELIGION, ETC.

BY

LIEUT.-COLONEL STEINBACH,

LATE OF THE SERVICE OF THE MAHARAJAH RUNJEET SINGH AND HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS.

Second Edition.

BRINGING DOWN THE HISTORY TO THE PRESENT TIME, AND INCLUDING A NARRATIVE OF THE RECENT CAMPAIGN OF THE SUTLEGE.

LONDON:

SMITH, ELDER AND CO., 65, CORNHILL.

1846.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

The extreme ignorance which appears to prevail in this country regarding a State which has lately acquired a high degree of interest in the eyes of Englishmen, has led to the preparation of the following pages. The Author might have established a claim to originality, by laying nothing before the public that was not exclusively the result of his own observations during a nine years' residence among the Sikhs; but he has preferred to give, in a concentrated form, the fullest information available to those who choose to seek for it, and therefore limits his pretensions to those of the careful compiler. The authorities chiefly consulted — where the notes of the Author himself were scanty, or his

recollections imperfect—have been Prinsep, Von Hügel, Murray, Sir John Malcolm, and Edward Thornton; the latter of whom not long since published *A Gazetteer of all the Countries West of the Indus*, replete with the results of diligent research.

The Author and Compiler of the following work does not profess to be alive to the intentions of the British Government in respect to the Punjaub, but he thinks the annexation of that extensive and fertile territory to the provinces of British India so necessary and unavoidable a result (sooner or later) of its present state of disruption, and of the warfare that has commenced, that he regards it as a duty to give his countrymen the clearest notion of the Sikh state it is in his power to convey.

London, March, 1846.

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THE PUNJAUB.

CHAPTER I.

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE PUNJAUB.

The extensive country in the north-west of India, known by the name of the Punjaub, derives its appellation from two Persian words,—*punj*, five, and *aub*, water, from the five rivers which flow through the territory. These rivers are—the Indus or Attock, the Jeylum, the Chenab, the Ravee, and the Sutlege, the first and last forming the geographical boundaries of a space extending from lat. 29° 15′ to 34° north, long. 70° 40′ to 76° east. The political limits of the country, however, extend somewhat beyond the banks of the two principal rivers, and may be reckoned, including Peshawur and the countries west of the Indus, Iskardoh, Ladakh, and other hill states north, at 600 miles in length from east to west, and 350 miles in breadth from north to

south. In the immediate north and north-east of the territory lie the chains of mountains known as the Hindoo Koosh and the Himalayan range, the latter divided from the former by the extensive valley of the Indus.

The plain of the Punjaub, to use the words of Thornton, the Gazetteer, "is divided by its rivers into five extensive natural sections, described by the native term, *doab*, signifying a great tongue of land lying in the bifurcation above the confluence of two rivers." The rivers are all in a great measure navigable, not less than 1960 miles of the five principal streams, with their four tributaries, the Punjnud, Trinab, Beas, and Epara, being available for purposes of inland traffic. Irrigation to an almost unparalleled extent is likewise carried on without much assistance from artificial means, the great plain being extremely level, or sloping so gradually from north-east to south-west that the highest elevation above the level of the sea does not exeed 1,600 feet, descending to about 200. In fact, the exceeding smoothness of the country has the effect of causing the rivers to frequently change their courses; not one of them runs within several miles of the great towns whose walls they washed twenty years ago. Scattered over the territory, but chiefly in the vicinity of the rivers, are numerous towns, fortresses, and villages. The

principal towns are Lahore (the capital and seat of government), Umritzur, Mooltan, Vuzeerabad, Mozufferabad, Kashmir or Siranuggur, and Peshawur. The fortresses are Umritzur, formerly the depository of the royal treasury, a place of no particular strength; Rotas, on the high road from Lahore to Peshawur, strikingly situated upon an eminence, but now suffered to fall into decay; and the castle on the banks of the Attock, which commands the passage of the river. Most of the towns, however, are surrounded by a mud or brick wall of frail quality; Lahore itself is so defended, with the addition of a dry moat, which, on emergency, could be filled with water from the neighbouring Ravee. But the mud walls would afford no protection against artillery. They were originally constructed by the inhabitants as a sort of defence from the attacks of one another, and are only efficacious in resisting incursions or predatory visitations in times of civil commotion.

Lahore, the capital, is a town of considerable dimensions; the circuit of fortification exceeds seven miles. Originally occupied by the Mussulman invaders, it contains many remnants of spacious and handsome mosques, serais, and monuments, and near it is a magnificent tomb of a quadrangular figure, having a minaret at each corner, where the remains of the Mogul emperor,

Jehangheer, are said to repose. The streets of Lahore, like those of the native towns of India, are narrow and dirty. The houses are lofty, and are for the most part surrounded by dead walls, which give a sombre aspect to the town, scarcely relieved by the bustle of the bazaars, where valuable merchandise of every description is crowded into mean and incommodious edifices. There are not many gardens within the town, but the vicinity abounds with luxuriant orchards scattered amidst masses of ruins.

UMRITZUR, situated between the rivers Beas and Ravee, is of somewhat larger extent than Lahore, and from having been the capital, when Runjeet Singh exercised dominion over the Punjaub, is now a place of great commercial importance. The name of the town is derived from the words *Amreta Sarei*, or the fount of immortality, the title given to a superb tank constructed by one of the great expounders of the Sikh religion. A temple to Vishnu, one of the Sikh deities, stands upon a small island in the centre of this tank, and is maintained in great splendour by the offerings of pilgrims and devotees. The streets of this town correspond with those of Lahore in style and dimensions, but the architecture of the houses is in rather better taste. Excepting the tank alluded to, there are few public buildings in Umritzur of any consequence.

The bazaars are spacious, and the town boasts of a few manufactories, a canal from the Ravee, a mint, and some places of public worship. But the most striking edifice, upreared by Runjeet Singh, is the lofty fortress of Govindghur, which formerly held all the wealth of the government for the time being.

MOOLTAN, the third town in order of importance, stands upon a mound three miles east of the river Chenab. In form it is an irregular sexagon, with its longest side, which measures six hundred yards, to the north-west. Its modern consequence arises from the great extent of commerce of which it is the seat, the banking transactions particularly giving it a pre-eminence over all other towns in Western India. Although within its own walls, which are forty feet in height seen from without, but few buildings of any importance are contained, the neighbourhood is crowded with the débris of mosques, tombs, sérais, &c., attesting the ancient grandeur of the place.

VUZEERABAD likewise stands to the east of the Chenab, but two or three hundred miles higher up than the town previously mentioned. In point of architecture, Vuzeerabad may take precedence of any other town in the Punjaub. This is owing to the exertions of General Avitabile, an European officer, lately in the service of the

Sikh government, who spent much of his accumulated wealth in decorating and improving the locality of his residence. The streets are broad, and the bazaars exceedingly commodious.

Mozufferabad, at the confluence of the Jeylum and the Kishengunga, has nothing to recommend it beyond its position. It commands the entrance of the Barramala Pass into Kashmir.

Kashmir, or Cashmere, better known to English readers under the latter orthography, is beyond the geographical limits of the Punjaub, properly so called, but has been included in the territory by conquest since 1819. It was wrested from the Affghans, in whose hands it had remained for seventy years, by the late Runjeet Singh, and has continued an integral part of the state from that period. Kashmir is situated in the north of the Punjaub. It may be described as a luxuriant, well-watered valley, surrounded by lofty mountains. The length of the valley is one hundred and twenty miles; its extreme breadth is seventy-five. The upper part of the river Jeylum runs through the vale of Kashmir, which is likewise watered by several broad and beautiful lakes, one of which is twenty miles in length and nine in width. The city of Kashmir, Siranuggur (a fortified town), stands upon the banks of the Jeylum, which is navigable both below and

above. The town itself is a mere wreck, an accumulation of ruins of what once had been palaces, old dilapidated houses, streets of unexampled filthiness; indeed the entire valley everywhere presents evidences of faded splendour. Earthquakes, and the despoiling hand of man have combined to reduce to a shapeless heap of ruins, edifices that, previous to the Mahomedan invasion, must have rivalled in their size, magnificence, and very peculiar architecture of black marble, the massive structures of which Egypt and ancient Greece present so many traces.

PESHAWUR, like Kashmir, is a conquest from the Affghans; it fell to the arms of Runjeet Singh about twenty years since, and is now annexed to the dominions of the Punjaub. Separated from Affghanistan Proper by the far-famed Khyber Pass, a tolerable fortification has enabled the Sikhs to retain it, but, excepting these defences, there is nothing in the town to distinguish it from the shapeless masses of decayed brickwork which are found in and about all the other towns in the Punjaub.

LADAKH, or Middle Thibet, and Iskardoh, completes in the north the possessions of the Sikhs, as Mittun Khote may be said to terminate them in the south. The former are situated respectively in 32° and 35° of north latitude, longitude 79° and 75°, in the mountain regions which close

in the east and north of the Punjaub. This brief sketch, with occasional references to the map, will enable the reader to form an idea of the extent and nature of the territory of which we purpose treating in later pages.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE PUNJAUB, TO THE DEATH OF RUNJEET SINGH.

ALTHOUGH it is not within the scope of the present volume to enter into a history of the Punjaub from the earliest periods of which any records are extant, it will be necessary to a right understanding of the present condition of the country, that a plain and familiar narrative should be given of the events more immediately connected with the state of disruption following upon the death of Runjeet Singh.

Up to the year 1742, the chronicles tell us that the Punjaub formed part of the Mogul empire, which had been founded in Hindostan by the Emperor Baber. At the death, however, of the Delhi sovereign, Mahomed Shah, who had not ruled with the vigour and ability of his predecessor, the empire fell speedily to dissolution. Nadir Shah invaded the country, and the Mah-

rattas rose against the existing dynasty in the hope of restoring Hindoo pre-eminence, which had long been superseded by the rule of the Islamites. Lahore was at this time ruled by a viceroy from the Delhi court, and Mahomedanism was in the ascendant; but the desperate state of poverty to which a series of exactions on the part of the government had reduced the Sikh landowners, induced them to rise and become plunderers on a large scale, and, as a bond of union and excitement against their oppressors, they proclaimed the faith and tenets of Govind Singh, the last acknowledged Gooroo or spiritual guide of the Sikhs, and commenced marauding in large organized bodies, under different chieftains.* In process of time, the government neglecting to take precautionary measures, these united associations attained a dangerous degree of prosperity, and ultimately formed a general confederation for defence. But when, through their resistance, the viceroy found the revenue diminishing, he sent out troops to put down and disperse the Sikh confederacy, and succeeding in this, proclaimed death to all who should invoke the name of Gooroo Govind. The assertion of Mahomedan supremacy was not, however, of uninterrupted duration. Ahmed Shah Abdalla, the Affghan, anxious to found an empire on the ruins

* Prinsep.

of the House of Timour, invaded the Punjaub, overthrew the government, and advanced into Hindostan across the Sutlege. He was repulsed, and compelled to retrace his footsteps across the Attock; but in the middle of 1748 he returned to Lahore, was again compelled to abandon his project of extensive conquest, renewed the attempt in 1751-2, and finally in 1756 carried his point, reducing Delhi to the condition of a province, and placing his own creatures about the person of the puppet-monarch to watch and control his actions. The distractions arising from these repeated invasions enabled the Sikh associations to revive, and to acquire fresh strength by lending their military services, as occasion arose, to one party or the other; but it was not until the north of India had been overcome by the Mahrattas under the famous Mulhar Rao Holkar, that the Sikhs began to assume an independent attitude of importance. When Ahmed Shah had dispersed the Mahrattas and returned to Caubul (in 1761), leaving a governor with a very weak force to hold Lahore and collect revenues, the Sikhs had become the occupants of strongholds and fastnesses in different parts of the country, and added greatly to their power and resources.

Amongst the Sikh chieftains who had thus profited by the anarchy of twenty years, were

the ancestors of Runjeet Singh, one of whom, named Churut Singh, erected a small fortress at Goojerwallah, not far from Lahore, and made it the rallying point for the association. The governor of Lahore, marching with a force against this mud fort, was repulsed, and from that moment the Sikhs began to organize themselves into a still more compact and formidable confederation. The Sikh Dul, or assembly of chiefs and followers, was publicly held at Umritzur, and measures were concocted for offensive operations on a large scale. Ahmed Shah, however, re-appeared with an adequate force and put down this insurrection; no sooner, however, was his back turned than the Sikhs again reared their crest under the guidance and leadership of the Singhs, and not only resumed their former position, but made fresh attempts upon the strongholds of their Mahomedan governors. Again and again did Ahmed Shah return to punish and subdue them, and always with the same success, until at length, being deserted by a large body of his troops on the Sutlege, he retraced his steps (1764) to Caubul, and never again crossed the Indus. On his final departure, the Sikh sirdars or chieftains spread themselves over the country, and occupied it as a permanent inheritance, every Sirdar, according to his strength, seizing what fell in his way, and acknowledging no superior, nor submitting to the

control of any body, nor to any constituted authority whatsoever.* The possession of each sirdar was called a Missul, but he exercised no absolute supremacy over it, for his followers exacted a share in the land proportioned to the service each had rendered, merely looking upon the sirdar as the chief in war and arbiter in peace. Twice a year the chiefs assembled at Umritzur, and held a sort of council for the common good, where important expeditions, and other matters requiring combined efforts, were discussed. Amongst these chiefs was Churut Singh, an ancestor of Runjeet's; but a horde of associated warriors, acknowledging no systematic general authority or government was never destined, even in comparatively civilized countries, to enjoy permanent tranquillity or security. When, to employ the language of Prinsep, the link of a common enemy and common danger was removed, and the chiefs were converted from needy adventurers to lords of domain, discords and mutual plunderings commenced. As temper, ambition, or avarice excited to contention, cause of quarrel was never wanting in the confusion of the coparcenary system. The disputes and divisions which subsisted in each lordship favoured the designs of the aspiring from without, whose aid being solicited by

* Prinsep.

one of the parties, an opening was frequently found to eject both.

Amongst the chieftains who profited by this state of things, Churut Singh and Maha Singh were the most fortunate. After a series of intrigues and collisions extending over a period of twenty years, from 1773 to 1791, the former being accidentally killed, the latter found himself master of a considerable amount of territory, which he administered to the advantage of his family until 1792, when he died, leaving his son, the famous Runjeet Singh.

The history of Runjeet Singh, his gradual aggrandizement until he became sole ruler of the entire Punjaub, his relations with the Affghans, the Scindian and the British government, down to the period of his death, have been so frequently before English readers in connection with the late operations of the British army across the Indus, that the repetition of the detail in this work is totally superfluous. It will be sufficient for present purposes to describe the course of events from the hour of his demise to the present moment.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE PUNJAUB FROM THE DEATH OF RUNJEET SINGH TO THE DEATH OF NOO NEHAL SINGH.

From the death of the Maharajah Runjeet Singh may be dated the commencement of the scenes of anarchy and confusion which to this moment have existed in the Punjaub. For some months previous to his demise, from his extreme debility and loss of speech from paralysis, public business had been almost entirely neglected, the revenue misapplied, and order or method nearly annihilated. A few days previous to the event, the 28th of June, 1839, the Maharajah, conscious of his approaching end, ordered the whole of his superior officers, European and native, to be assembled in his presence, and caused them to take the oath of allegiance to the heir apparent, his son, the Koonwar* Kurruck Singh; the

* Prince.

consequences of which were, that, contrary to general expectation, he succeeded to the throne of his father without the slightest tumult or opposition. Runjeet Singh was surrounded in his last moments by his favourite minister, the Rajah Dhyan Singh, the chief officers of his household, and the principal ecclesiastics of the kingdom, upon which latter he bestowed the most extravagant donations. Amongst other bequests, he directed that the far-famed Koh-i-Noor diamond, valued at a million sterling, which he had so disreputably obtained possession of from Shah Soojah, should be given to the high priests of the celebrated temple of Juggernauth, a place of great sanctity, situated in the south of Bengal, whither religious fanatics, at a certain season annually, are in the habit of making a pilgrimage from the remotest parts of India; but the intention of this latter bequest was not fulfilled, and from recent accounts the Koh-i-Noor is still in the Lahore treasury. For many years towards the latter period of his life, Runjeet Singh had been hoarding treasure, which may be estimated to have amounted at his decease to about eight crores of rupees in cash, or the same number of millions of pounds sterling, with jewels, shawls, horses, elephants, &c., to several millions more. Even at the present time, although much has been abstracted

from the royal treasury, during the constant succession of troubles, it is doubtful if any court in Europe possesses such valuable jewels as the court of Lahore. Some idea of the vast property accumulated by Runjeet Singh may be formed from the circumstance of no less than thirteen hundred various kinds of bridles, massively ornamented with gold and silver, some of them even with diamonds, being found in the royal treasury.

The funeral obsequies of this extraordinary man were too remarkable not to be mentioned here. Upon his death being made public, the whole of the Sikh Sirdars at Lahore, assembled to do honour to his suttee, and four of his favourite queens, together with seven female slaves, having, in conformity with the horrible practice of the country, expressed their intention of burning themselves upon his funeral pile, preparations were immediately made for the solemnity. It is said that much dissuasion is exercised in cases of suttee; ostensibly such may be the case; but in private every argument to the contrary is made use of by the relatives of the wretched victim, and the promise once given cannot be retracted. A street of a double line of infantry having been formed, the procession proceeded at a slow pace to its destination, only a quarter of a mile distant, and within the precincts

of the palace. The corpse of the late Maharajah, placed upon a splendidly gilt car, constructed in the form of a ship, with sails of gilt cloth to waft him (according to native superstition) into paradise, was borne upon the shoulders of soldiers, preceded by a body of native musicians, playing their wild and melancholy airs. His four queens, dressed in their most sumptuous apparel, then followed, each in a separate gilt chair, borne upon the shoulders of their attendants; the female slaves following on foot. Before each of the queens was carried a large mirror, and gilt parasol, the emblems of their rank. After them came the successor to the throne, the Maharajah Kurruck Singh, attended by the whole of the Sikh Sirdars, barefooted, and clothed in white; none but persons of noble rank being permitted to join the procession. To the last moment of this terrible sacrifice, the queens exhibited the most perfect equanimity; far from evincing any dread of the terrible death which awaited them, they appeared in a high state of excitement, and ascended the funeral pile with alacrity. The slaves also appeared perfectly resigned, but less enthusiastic. The body of the Maharajah having been placed upon the pile, his queens seated themselves around it, when the whole were covered over with a canopy of the most costly Kashmir

shawls. The Maharajah Kurruck Singh then taking a lighted torch in his hand, pronounced a short prayer, set fire to the pile, and in an instant the whole mass, being composed of very ignitable material, was in flames. The noise from the *tom toms* (drums) and shouts of the spectators immediately drowned any exclamation from the wretched victims. It was with some difficulty that the Rajah Dhyan Singh (Runjeet's minister), under strong excitement, was prevented from throwing himself into the flames. Considerable doubt has been thrown over the sincerity of this intended act of self-devotion; but the general opinion was that he fully intended it from the apparent absence of any motive for hypocrisy. The ashes of the founder of the Sikh dynasty were afterwards collected together and thrown into the Ganges, in conformity with the religious custom of the country.

It has been already stated the Maharajah Kurruck Singh ascended the throne of the Punjaub without obstacle; his son, the Prince Noo Nehal Singh, a brave but dissolute young man, from whom much opposition was expected, having been absent at the time at Peshawur; but, notwithstanding the powerful auxiliaries of a well-filled treasury, a numerous and well-appointed army, and the able advisers of his late father, it is doubtful whether an individual could have been

found less calculated to occupy the place of Runjeet Singh than his successor, Kurruck Singh. Naturally of very weak intellect, his education also totally neglected, he soon proved himself wholly incompetent to hold the reins of government. Some years previous to his death Runjeet Singh had taken into his especial favour the Dogra family of his minister, the Rajah Dhyan Singh, consisting of the minister's son, the Rajah Heera Singh, and his two brothers, the Rajahs Goolab Singh and Soochet Singh; upon all of whom he conferred the title of Rajah, with princely jagheers (lands) for their maintenance. These men, although of good family, were at one time so poor as to have served in the Maharajah's irregular cavalry as common dragoons upon a rupee a day. The three brothers, however, though almost uneducated, soon proved themselves men of such ability, that they rapidly rose in Runjeet Singh's favour, and, latterly, scarcely any affair of importance was undertaken by Runjeet that was not entrusted to one of them. For a long time after the death of Runjeet their paramount influence over public affairs, added to their prodigious wealth, enabled them almost to hold the destinies of the Punjaub in their own hands. They were, however, more feared than liked, and looked upon with great jealousy by the other sirdars. They were all singularly handsome and well-mannered

men, and in their mutual correspondence made use of a cypher known only to themselves. As may be supposed, the fraternity raised up many enemies. The most prominent among them were the Sirdar Cheyt Singh, Kurruck Singh's nearest friend and confidential adviser, the Misher family in charge of the royal treasury, and many other influential sirdars; the whole secretly aided by the Jemidar Kooshyal Singh, a nobleman of very high rank, and who had himself formerly filled the post of prime minister under Runjeet, until superseded by Dhyan Singh; all anxious for the overthrow of the minister's family. The consequences of this powerful combination were that the Rajah Dhyan Singh, although still nominally prime minister, found his authority virtually annulled. Revenge for the loss of power took possession of his thoughts, and he soon found an opportunity of carrying his intentions into effect. About this time the son of Kurruck Singh, the Prince Noo Nehal Singh, returned to Lahore from Peshawur. To this young man the Rajah Dhyan Singh now firmly attached himself, in the twofold expectation of ridding himself of his obnoxious rival, Cheyt Singh, and obtaining the full restoration of his power and authority as prime minister. Aware of the ambitious views of Noo Nehal Singh against his father's rule, Dhyan Singh found little difficulty in persuading him of the necessity of

the removal of his father's favourite, Cheyt Singh, cajoling him with the prospect of his then superseding his father, from the known incapacity of the latter to govern the country. The murder of Cheyt Singh was consequently decided upon between them. A chosen band, with the Rajah at their head, entered the palace at midnight, and cutting down the sentries, proceeded to the Maharajah's private apartments, where Cheyt Singh also resided. Public report, indeed, accused Kurruck Singh of scandalous improprieties with his favourite Cheyt Singh. Upon hearing the tumult, Cheyt Singh fled to the Maharajah's own apartment for protection, but it availed him nothing: the assassins entered and actually murdered him in the king's presence. His body was carried out and thrown into a hole which was hastily dug for the purpose. The murder of Cheyt Singh was followed by the imprisonment of the Misher family and confiscation of their property. The Jemidar Kooshyal Singh (given to understand that his presence at court could be dispensed with), and various other Sirdars, betook themselves to their possessions. From this time the authority of the Maharajah Kurruck Singh ceased; he was shortly after formally deposed, and the Prince Noo Nehal Singh assumed the reins of government. Thus far the Rajah Dhyan Singh was successful in his projects, but

an unforeseen difficulty now awaited him; he soon found himself egregiously mistaken in his fancied control over the actions of Noo Nehal Singh. This prince also had his favourites and confidential advisers, who were alike opposed to the Rajah and his family, with the advantage of ability equal to the Rajah himself, backed by the young prince's power and firmness of character.

His influence consequently became less than ever, and for a time he was scarcely permitted to take any share whatever in state affairs. To a minister so long accustomed to the sweets of power, this false position became scarcely supportable. Through the medium of his son, the Rajah Heera Singh, between whom and the Prince Noo Nehal Singh an intimacy had sprung up, and which Dhyan Singh encouraged by every means in his power, he succeeded in re-establishing his position in the council, but never to the extent he had enjoyed under Runjeet Singh, or even under Kurruck Singh. The court of Lahore under its new ruler now became the seat of debauchery and intrigue. Secret and even pecuniary overtures were made by Noo Nehal Singh to the Courts of Nepaul, Caubul, and almost every other native power, to induce them to rise against the British from all quarters simultaneously. Upon one occasion he became so excited, when

speaking of the British government, in reply to some malicious representations made to him, as to draw his sword in open durbar (the levee), and proclaim his intention never to sheath it until he had measured himself with the English. This ridiculous vapouring earned for him the *soubriquet* of the Hotspur of the Sikhs; but notwithstanding the disregard of his bravadoes by the British government, it is tolerably certain that, had he lived, a war with the Punjaub and Nepaul would have been inevitable, and Affghanistan would have taken part in the quarrel.

Pending this state of affairs, the serious illness of the deposed Maharajah Kurruck Singh began to occupy public attention. The Dusseera *fête*, held annually at Umritzur, was omitted; and whispers of the Maharajah labouring under the effects of slow but deadly poison, daily intermingled in small quantities with his food, began to gain ground, not without strong suspicion of the sanction, or at least connivance, of his son, Noo Nehal Singh. His death shortly followed, when one of the most extraordinary events occurred of which history presents a record. The funeral procession was much the same as that already described upon the demise of Runjeet Singh, with this exception, that only two self devoted victims sacrificed themselves to their horrible superstition. Returning from his late

father's suttee, the elephant upon which Noo Nehal Singh was seated, in passing through the gates of the palace, pushed against the brick work, when the whole came down, killing the Rajah Dhyan Singh's nephew, who was seated upon the same elephant, upon the spot, and fracturing the skull of Noo Nehal Singh so dreadfully that he never spoke afterwards, and expired in a few hours. The incident is generally supposed to have been premeditated, and not the effect of accident, as stated by the Government; but the whole affair was so enveloped in mystery, that even to the present day it has been found impossible to attach suspicion to any party, and the matter has now long since ceased to occupy men's thoughts.

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE DEATH OF NOO NEHAL SINGH TO THE PRESENT TIME.

The astonishment of the whole Sikh nation, at the intelligence of the death of Noo Nehal Singh, may be more easily imagined than described. Nobody in the province at first believed it. When, however, the news became confirmed, the consternation and regret were very great, for notwithstanding his impetuous and dissolute habits, he was nevertheless a youth of considerable ability, and the only person capable of controlling the power of the Rajah Dhyan Singh and his brothers. The country, by this singular catastrophe, was thus suddenly plunged into an awkward dilemma. It was at length decided, by the advice of Dhyan Singh, to offer the crown to the Prince Shere Singh, a twin son of Runjeet Singh by his wife Mehtab. Considerable objec-

tion was at first offered by the Sikh Sirdars, upon the ground of his alleged illegitimacy, Runjeet Singh never having fully acknowledged the twins as his offspring. The opposition, however, was for the time overcome, and a messenger dispatched to Shere Singh with the glad tidings. For some time previously this Prince had taken no part whatever in public affairs, but lived in retirement upon his property, a very beautiful spot named Battee-alah, not far distant from Umritzur. Upon his arrival at Lahore, aided by Dhyan Singh, he attempted to assume the government; but by this time the widow of Kurruck Singh Chund Koor, mother of Noo Nehal Singh, supported by a powerful faction, asserted her right to the regency, on behalf of the yet unborn offspring of Noo Nehal Singh, whose widow she affirmed to be *enceinte*. This tale, although not generally credited, supported by the influence of her party, enabled her to assume the regency of the kingdom; all orders were issued in her name; and even Dhyan Singh assisted at her councils. The Prince Shere Singh seeing the overthrow of his hopes, returned to his country seat; and Dhyan Singh, without assigning any particular reason, also shortly after withdrew from Lahore to his own possessions, a mountainous country called Jummoo, leaving his elder brother, the Rajah Goolab Singh, in the post

of prime minister to the Queen Regent. Affairs continued in this way for a period of three or four months, when Shere Singh, arousing from his lethargy, determined upon testing his right to the crown by an appeal to arms. His first step was an application for assistance to the superior European officers in the Sikh service; but it so happened that these officers, with an exception or two, were all absent from Lahore at the time, on separate commands; and in reply to Shere Singh's overtures all declined identifying themselves in any internal political commotion. Shere Singh, thus left to his own resources, determined upon making a dash at the capital, trusting to chance and the hope of gaining over the army for success. He accordingly once more left Buttee-alah with a body of not more than 500 irregular cavalry; but, upon arriving within a few miles of Lahore, he was joined by two entire brigades, with their artillery, amounting to some 7000 men, with which force he immediately commenced bombarding the city. Upon the intelligence of the approach of Shere Singh, and the defection of these two brigades, the Queen Regent retired into the citadel, and having collected about three thousand troops under the command of the Rajah Goolab Singh, Lena Singh, and many other Sirdars of her own party, determined upon defending herself to the last extremity. The bom-

bardment continued for several days, but without any decided advantage on the side of the assailants, who naturally lost considerably more than the besieged, when the sudden arrival of the Rajah Dhyan Singh (from Jummoo) in Shere Singh's camp, occasioned a cessation of hostilities, and soon changed the state of affairs altogether. After some negotiation between the Queen Regent and Shere Singh (highly advantageous, it is supposed, to the Rajah, who thereby became also fully restored to his former office of prime minister), the Queen consented to deliver up the citadel, and acknowledge Shere Singh's right to the throne. She was shortly after murdered by her own slave girls, at the instigation of Shere Singh and Dhyan Singh, making good the political axiom, that the loss of life soon follows the loss of power.

It should here be observed, that the story of the pregnancy of Noo Nehal Singh's widow had already been discovered to be a gross fabrication, the young lady not being more than eight years of age, and the marriage never even to have been consummated. The Queen having withdrawn from Lahore, Shere Singh's accession to the throne was announced throughout the kingdom; but scarcely was he seated upon the throne, when the army, conscious that through their instrumentality he had gained his object, and

instigated by large promises from the Queen's partisans, commenced a course of anarchy and disorder which for several months threatened the utter dissolution of the empire, and the unavoidable interference of the British power.

The demands of the soldiery were, increase of pay and the dismissal of all officers obnoxious to them. These claims not being admitted, the most frightful outrages followed, the government having no control whatever over the soldiery. The soldiers having elected a council of five of their comrades from each company in every regiment at Lahore, to represent their demands to the government, commenced by entirely annulling the authority of their officers, many of whom they at once murdered. The plunder of the city then followed, in which it is supposed that not less than two thousand persons were assassinated or perished, including all those government writers and servants who had in any way ever rendered themselves obnoxious to the army. The house of General Court (who, it should be stated, in common with the rest of the European officers, had declined identifying himself with the politics of the country), was stripped of everything to the bare walls, and the General himself very narrowly escaped assassination before he reached a place of safety. General Ventura, who upon the news of the outbreak had returned to

Lahore, had also a similar escape; the excitement, though without any ground whatever, being so great against the European officers. By this time, the disaffection of the part of the army at Lahore had also found its way amongst the troops in the different provinces, who, emulating their brethren at Lahore, murdered the Governor of Kashmir in open court, upon his refusing to comply with some request from these miscreants, which he had no power whatever to grant. Lieutenant-Colonel Foulkes, stationed with a large body of cavalry at Mundee, also fell a victim to the lawless excitement of his soldiers; universally regretted by all who had ever known him. Lieutenant-Colonel Ford, another British officer, after having been plundered of everything he possessed by his men, even to the ring upon his finger, died at Peshawur, from illness and ill treatment, which place he just contrived to reach alive. It was the intention of the troops to have sacrificed the lives of all the European officers; but most of them having obtained information of this diabolical project, the attempts were frustrated by corresponding energy. This critical state of affairs continued for some months, during which period there existed in fact no government at all, the soldiers doing just what they thought proper. One brigade, near Peshawur, intercepted and plundered a government

treasure party escorting some seven or eight lacs of rupees to Lahore. After paying themselves all arrears and two months in advance, they permitted the party to proceed with what remained. The soldiers, at length tired of their own excesses, modified their demands throughout the whole army to the increase of one rupee per month, with a gratuity of two months' pay as the reward for their exertions in placing Shere Singh upon the throne. These terms being acceded to by the government, tranquillity became partially restored; but from that period discipline and subordination may be said to have ceased in the Lahore army. The soldiers, conscious of their power, cared but little for the authority of their officers, or even of the Maharajah himself. A certain degree of order, or at least of quiet, being thus re-established, the Maharajah, by the advice of Dhyan Singh, accorded four months' leave of absence to the greater part of the troops, to enable the Minister to devote some attention to the internal administration of the country, which as may be supposed, had been almost entirely neglected during the military revolt. Necessary orders for the collection of revenue were issued; and the property of the most influential partisans of the late Queen Regent having been confiscated; the Queen herself effectually got rid of, and others banished from Lahore,—affairs

began to wear a more favourable and tranquil aspect; and on the return of the troops from their homes, the Maharajah, by the advice of his European officers, wisely caused all arrears to be paid up. The consequences of this judicious measure were, that the annual Dusserah *fête* at Umritzur, upon which occasion nearly the whole army is assembled and inspected by the Maharajah in person, passed off without the slightest tumult or disorder.

But this state of affairs was unfortunately not destined to be permanent. Shere Singh no sooner finding himself somewhat emancipated from the importunities of the licentious soldiery, than he gave himself up to every species of debauchery, passing the greater part of his time, when not engaged in the chase, either in drinking or in society of the worst description, to the total neglect of all public business. A conspiracy, which eventually cost him his life, was consequently formed against Shere Singh, consisting of Lena Singh Scindewallah, Ajeet Singh, his own brother-in-law, and many other of the most influential sirdars, secretly headed by the prime minister, the Rajah Dhyan Singh. It may be here observed, that, upon all occasions, Shere Singh expressed himself favourable to British interests; and in justice to his memory, it should be added, that it was solely owing to his constancy that General

Pollock's army was allowed an undisputed passage through the Punjaub to Peshawur, after the diasters of the British at Caubul, the Sikh Sirdars being all *strongly* disposed to take advantage of this *contretemps* to British affairs, by attacking the General. The refusal of Shere Singh to countenance this project only served to exasperate the confederation formed against him, although no opportunity offered of carrying it into effect until some time after. Affairs continued at Lahore in this state until the month of September, 1844, when the conspirators decided upon carrying out the plot they had formed against the Maharajah's life, somewhat hastened by the supposition that he was in secret communication with the British Government, with the view of seeking its protection. The Maharajah was consequently invited to inspect the cavalry of Ajeet Singh on the following morning, at a short distance from Lahore, which he consented to do, notwithstanding that he had been repeatedly cautioned of the plot against his life, and of his brother-in-law, Ajeet Singh, being a party to it.

On coming upon the ground, a party of cavalry, badly dressed and appointed, was so posted as to attract his attention, and consequent displeasure. Ajeet Singh affected to excuse himself, and desired one of his attendants to

bring him an English rifle, which he begged to present to the Maharajah; and in the act of presenting it, he dexterously turned the muzzle towards him and shot the Maharajah through the heart. A short conflict immediately took place, in which the Maharajah's attendants were quickly overpowered; several were killed, and the remainder took to flight. Shere Singh's head was then severed from his body, and fixed upon a pole, and carried all round the camp of Ajeet Singh. His body was claimed and given up during the day to two of Shere Singh's wives, and the usual suttee rites performed over it. In the mean time, Ajeet Singh, after the committal of this atrocity, directed his steps towards the city; but meeting the Rajah Dhyan Singh in his carriage, he dismounted and got into it, with the intention of returning together. It appears that a dispute took place between them respecting the future form of government, but which was quickly terminated by Ajeet Singh stabbing the Rajah to the heart. He afterwards caused his head to be cut off, and sent it to his son, the Rajah Heera Singh, of whom further mention will be made. Ajeet Singh, after having caused the whole of the late Maharajah's family to be murdered, even to an infant born the day previous in the Zenana, then shut himself up with his followers in the citadel. No sooner had the

Rajah Heera Singh recovered from the grief and stupor in which the murder of his father had plunged him, than he called upon the army to avenge the twofold murder. His orders were promptly obeyed by the troops and European officers, then at Lahore, and the citadel being invested, a heavy fire of artillery was opened upon the walls, which soon began to crumble before it; and a practicable breach being effected, it was immediately carried by assault, and the greater part of Ajeet Singh's followers massacred. In the mean time, Ajeet Singh, foreseeing the result,endeavoured to escape by lowering himself by a rope from an unfrequented part, but being seen and recognised by a party of soldiers, he was pursued and put to death, his head severed from his body, and taken to Heera Singh, who rewarded the soldiers with ten thousand rupees. Tranquillity being again temporarily restored, a council, with Heera Singh at its head, was held, at which it was determined to place a reputed son of the late Runjeet Singh, Dhuleep Singh, the present Maharajah, a boy about ten years of age, upon the throne, with the Rajah Heera Singh as minister, which was accordingly carried into effect immediately. But a very short time elapsed before the uncontrollable soldiery renewed their preposterous demands for increase of pay (upon the same

grounds as under the Maharajah Shere Singh) together with the dismissal of the whole of the European officers; demands with which Heera Singh had no alternative but to comply. But even these concessions (generally a mark of weakness) were insufficient to check the progress of anarchy and intrigue. The Rajah Soochet Singh, Heera Singh's uncle, jealous of his nephew's power, resolved upon supplanting him in his position of minister. He accordingly, with a few trusty followers (not more than fifty), left his native place, Jummoo, for the capital, in the hope of gaining over the troops, stationed at Lahore, for the accomplishment of his object, and which he was assured by his partisans was a necessary procedure. He, however, found himself egregiously mistaken: for Heera Singh, who had notice of his uncle's intentions, assembled and harangued the troops; and by his promises so prevailed upon them, that upon Soochet Singh's arrival at Lahore, he did not find himself joined by a single soldier. Seeing this unexpected and desperate state of affairs, aware also that Heera Singh had secured the passage of the river, and that flight was consequently impossible, he shut himself up with his followers in a temple about three miles distant from Lahore, with the determination of defending himself to the last extremity. He was soon after attacked by

several thousand of the Maharajah's troops, and although the party defended themselves for three hours against this large force, they were at length compelled, by the fire of artillery, to quit their hold; and after performing prodigies of valour in hand to hand combats, were massacred to a man. His remains, however, were respected, and the usual suttee rites performed over them. No sooner had Heera Singh freed himself from the attempt against his power, than the two princes, Kashmeera Singh, and Peshora Singh, also reputed sons of the Maharajah Runjeet Singh, declared themselves openly against him, encouraged by his remaining uncle, the Rajah Goolab Singh, the brother and the favourite wife (now widow) of Soochet Singh, whose joint animosity against Heera Singh, for the death of his uncle, knew no bounds. At their instigation, the princes crossed the Sutlege from Ferozepore, where they had been residing, with about a thousand men. They were met, when a few miles upon their march, by some thousands of the Maharajah's troops, and, after a conflict of some hours, Heera Singh was again triumphant. The princes made their submission to the government at Lahore, and were then left at liberty. Heera Singh's next step was to effect a reconciliation with his uncle, the Rajah Goolab Singh, which, after considerable difficulty, he effected. Hitherto

success seemed to attend Heera Singh's measures, but a third and more formidable combination was now formed against him, and which terminated in his destruction.

The army, over which Heera Singh in reality possessed no control beyond what the power of administering to their rapacity gave him, seeing his reluctance, or, more probably, inability, to comply any longer with their preposterous demands, lent themselves at once to any change likely to promote their object. The old Khalsa (state) chiefs, who had ever been adverse to the Rajah Dhyan Singh's family, and the mother of the young Maharajah, who made no secret of her animosity towards the minister from his desire to keep the prince in a state of pupillage, if not to usurp his authority, now formed themselves into a faction for the overthrow and destruction of the minister.

Heera Singh soon became aware of the combination formed against him; his first step was to enlist a large body of hillmen from Jummoo as a guard to his personal safety; his next, to cut off the leader of the party, the Sirdar Jowahir Singh, the brother of the mother and uncle of the young Maharajah, who, backed by his sister and some of the military officers, sought a command in the army. A knowledge of the minister's design, or a resolution to precipitate a rupture

induced Jowahir Singh to proceed, at the head of a party of the Khalsa troops, to the minister's house, when a conflict took place, which ended in the flight of Heera Singh and his adherents, including his favourite councillor and confederate the Pundit Jella, their route being towards Jummoo. It appears that their escape was connived at, in order that the slaughter of the Rajah Sahib's party, which had been determined upon, should not take place in the city, and cause greater commotion there, and perhaps carnage.

They were, however, pursued by Jowahir Singh and several hostile sirdars, and overtaken about thirteen miles from Lahore. Heera Singh had with him, besides the Pundit Jella, Meean Sohun Singh (the Rajah Goolab Singh's son), and Meean Singh; his force did not exceed five or six hundred men. An action took place, which ended in the discomfiture of the minister's party; he himself took refuge in a hut in the neighbouring village, but being surrounded by the troops, who threatened to set fire to it, he came out and was instantly cut down. His head, together with the heads of Pundit Jella, who was overtaken three miles beyond the scene of action, Meean Sohun Singh, Meean Lal Singh, and two others, were brought to Lahore, carried about in procession, and exhibited before the house tenanted by Jowahir Singh. Nineteen women,

the wives and slaves of three of the murdered men, burnt themselves on the occasion. According to one account, Heera Singh was betrayed by his own followers; another represents that the resistance was very fierce, and that upwards of one thousand men fell on both sides, but this must be an exaggeration. Jowahir Singh now stepped into the place of the minister, but the voices of the chiefs and army being in favour of Lena Singh Majeetea (who was residing at Benares), he was sent for, as well as Prince Peshora Singh; the latter having a short time previously taken refuge from the resentment of Heera Singh at Ferozepore.

Prince Peshora Singh eagerly obeyed the summons sent him, and returned to Lahore on the 1st January, 1845. He was well received by the Ranee (the mother of the Maharajah) and by some of the troops; but the Sirdar Jowahir Singh, no doubt looking upon him in the light of a rival, succeeded very soon in persuading his sister not to countenance him, on which a jageer (or estate) was offered him. The Prince felt disinclined to accept the offer, but as, on sounding the troops, he did not find them disposed to sustain him in the office of minister, for the simple reason that he could only make them promises, while the Ranee's rewards were immediate and substantial, he returned to Seealkote. The first act of

Jowahir Singh, after he had thus got rid of the prince, was to send troops against Goolab Singh, the uncle of the late Heera Singh, who had returned to the fortress of Jummoo. To this step Jowahir Singh was led partly by his dread of the powers of Goolab, and partly by the urgent necessity for keeping the troops in employment, those refractory coadjutors having become still more troublesome since the British government had deemed it necessary for purposes of security to augment their own force upon the frontier. Goolab Singh, to strengthen his hands, offered large bribes to the troops of the minister to join him, which they did in considerable numbers, notwithstanding that he had treacherously recovered the amount of largesses paid to their delegates by causing them to be interrupted, murdered, and robbed. With this accession of force, Goolab Singh left Jummoo, defeated or brought over those who were sent to oppose him, and marched straight to Lahore. The consternation caused by his presence induced the authorities at the capital to temporise, and after a little negociation he was admitted to the court, and swore fealty and friendship to the young Maharajah, and the persons about him. It was for some time supposed that he would displace the Wuzeer (minister) Jowahir Singh, but he preferred taking the entire command of the Sikh army, an office

the Ranee was compelled by the turbulent soldiery to confer upon him; to this honour was added the degree of "Lord Buhadoor" which placed him above all the other Sirdars.

Soon after these events, Prince Peshora Singh, who had hitherto remained quiet at Seealkote, unfurled the standard of rebellion, secretly instigated, it is supposed, by Goolab Singh himself. An expedition was about to be fitted out against him when the cholera visited Lahore (May 1845) and committed such fearful ravage as to cause a total suspension of business of all kinds. Anarchy for a while was checked by the awful visitation. Early in June, however, the disease having nearly disappeared, operations were commenced against Peshora Singh, and though he was successful in repulsing attacks upon Seealkote, he thought it prudent to open negociations with the Government, surrendered some treasure he had plundered, and entertained a proposal that he should retire to another estate at Munkena. So far, however, from accepting the proposal, Peshora Singh, after the lapse of two or three weeks, resumed the offensive, proceeded to Kolsee, thence to the fortress of Attock, which he captured, and formed alliances with some Affghan chiefs for the purpose of attacking Peshawur. Efforts were made by Sirdar Tej Singh and others in the North to arrest the progress of

rebellion, but nothing effectual was done by the Lahore government whose difficulties hourly increased. Two attempts had been made upon the life of Goolab Singh, intrigues and jealousies arose among the different Sirdars; the soldiery were clamorous to be sent against the English, and the minister, abandoned to every description of debauchery, exhibited a deplorable incapacity to meet the crisis that was arising. Consulting his personal safety, Goolab Singh obtained leave of absence to proceed to Jummoo. Meanwhile Peshora Singh's rebellion made head, and the Ranee finding resistance hopeless, made terms with and invited him to Lahore. On his approach to the capital, the Wuzeer Jowahir Singh fled with another Rajah, Lall Singh, but returned soon after at the intercession of the Dewan.—Peshora Singh never reached Lahore. By whom contrived, or in what way accomplished, has not yet been satisfactorily determined, but it seems that the prince was murdered, and the soldiery conceived the idea that Jowahir Singh was the instigator of the assassination. Be this as it may, the clamor of the troops reached a fearful height, they surrounded the capital, demanded the restoration of the Prince, and failing that, threatened to depose Dhuleep Singh and elevate the son of the late Shere Singh to the Musnud. The Ranee, powerless to offer open resistance, cajoled the

troops for some days with promises, sent to Jummoo for Goolab Singh (who, however, was too wise to come) and distributed largesses among the disaffected. This, however, proved but a temporary stop-gap; the outcry was renewed:—the Ranee, then, admitted the fact of the murder of Peshora, but "as there was no use in lamenting over those who were no longer among the living" strongly recommended the soldiery to make no movement. On this, they insisted upon her coming to the camp, accompanied by the young Dhuleep, and the minister, on pain of seeing the Maharajah deposed. The Ranee reluctantly assented, Rajah Lall Singh assuring her that the troops might be depended upon. The minister Jowahir Singh fearing to remain in the town unprotected, and equally afraid to venture among the troops, endeavoured to fly, previously making an attempt upon the life of the young son of Shere Singh whom the troops had declared they would place upon the throne. He was, however. baffled in his hasty schemes and compelled to accompany the Ranee and Maharajah. On emerging from the fort, the two latter were taken from the elephants on which they were proceeding, and carried into tents allotted to them, but the minister was surrounded by the troops who immediately fired vollies upon him and he fell dead from his elephant. His body was publicly burnt,

and the revenge of the soldiery being thus sated, they escorted the Ranee and the young sovereign back to the fort.

After the murder of Jowahir Singh, Meean Pirthee Singh was entrusted with the seals of office, but he only held them for two days, the Ranee taking upon herself the ministerial duties in connection with Rajah Lall Singh, generally understood to be her paramour.

There was now a lull in revolution, massacre and assassination. Meanwhile, the British government, reasonably apprehensive that the anarchical state of the Punjaub would sooner or later render its interference unavoidable, moved up strong bodies of troops to the military stations contiguous to the frontier, while Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General, proceeded in person to Umballah, and instructed his agents to call upon the Sikh authorities to explain the ground of their movement upon the Sutlege. For some time, the Ranee, without entering into the required explanations, was enabled to control the troops, notwithstanding that they were urgent for the appointment of Goolab Singh to the Wuzeeree (ministry), an office he steadily refused to take. But at length her Highness lost all influence—the army had become importunate to be led against the British, whose precautionary measures had inflamed their hostility, and she

was now (November, 1845) compelled to separate it into divisions, and appoint Sirdars Tej Singh, Lall Singh, and others, to distinguished commands, Lall Singh being also nominated Wuzeer. Not long after this, pay was issued to the troops, and they commenced their march towards the Sutlege, and when they had been joined by the Khalsa Jemedars of Manj, they crossed the river in great force, and made an irruption into the British territories. At this time the British force at Ferozepore, under Major-General Sir John Littler, amounted to only five thousand men.—Aware of this, Sir Henry Hardinge moved forward by forced marches with all the troops that were at Umballah, previously publishing the following proclamation:—

"PROCLAMATION BY THE RIGHT HON. THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA."

"The British Government has ever been on terms of friendship with that of the Punjaub,

"In the year 1809 a treaty of amity and concord was concluded between the British Government and the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh, the conditions of which have always been faithfully observed by the British Government, and were scrupulously fulfilled by the late Maharajah.

"The same friendly relations have been main-

tained with the successors of Maharajah Runjeet Singh by the British Government up to the present time.

"Since the death of the late Maharajah Shere Singh, the disorganised state of the Lahore Government has made it incumbent on the Governor-General in Council to adopt precautionary measures for the protection of the British frontier; the nature of these measures, and the cause of their adoption, were at the time fully explained to the Lahore Durbar.

"Notwithstanding the disorganised state of the Lahore Government during the last two years, and many most unfriendly proceedings on the part of the Durbar, the Governor-General in Council has continued to evince his desire to maintain the relations of amity and concord which had so long existed between the two states, for the mutual interests and happiness of both. He has shown on every occasion the utmost forbearance from consideration to the helpless state of the infant Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, whom the British Government had recognised as the successor to the late Maharajah Shere Singh.

"The Governor-General in Council sincerely desired to see a strong Sikh Government re-established in the Punjaub, able to control its army and to protect its subjects. He had not, up to the present moment, abandoned the hope

of seeing that important object effected by the patriotic efforts of the Sikhs and people of that country.

"The Sikh army recently marched from Lahore towards the British frontier, as it was alleged by the orders of the Durbar, for the purpose of invading the British territory.

"The Governor-General's agent, by direction of the Governor-General, demanded an explanation of this movement, and no reply being returned within a reasonable time, the demand was repeated. The Governor-General, unwilling to believe in the hostile intentions of the Sikh Government, to which no provocation had been given, refrained from taking any measures which might have a tendency to embarrass the Government of the Maharajah, or to induce collision between the two States.

"When no reply was given to the repeated demand for explanation, and while active military preparations were continued at Lahore, the Governor-General considered it necessary to order the advance of troops towards the frontier to reinforce the frontier posts.

"The Sikh army has now, without a shadow of provocation, invaded the British territories.

"The Governor-General must, therefore, take measures for effectually protecting the British provinces, for vindicating the authority of the

British Government, and for punishing the violators of treaties, and the disturbers of public peace.

"The Governor-General hereby declares the possessions of Maharajah Dhuleep Singh on the left or British banks of the Sutlege confiscated and annexed to the British territories.

"The Governor-General wlll respect the existing rights of all Jagheerdars, Zemindars, and tenants in the said possessions, who, by the course they now pursue, evince their fidelity to the British Government.

"The Governor-General hereby calls upon all the chiefs and sirdars in the protected territories to co-operate cordially with the British Government for the punishment of the common enemy, and for the maintenance of order in these states. Those of the chiefs who show alacrity and fidelity in the discharge of this duty which they owe to the protecting power, will find their interests promoted thereby, and those who take a contrary course will be treated as enemies to the British Government, and will be punished accordingly.

"The inhabitants of all the territories on the left bank of the Sutlege are hereby directed to abide peaceably in their respective villages, where they will receive efficient protection by the British Government. All parties of men found in armed bands, who can give no satisfactory account of

their proceedings, will be treated as disturbers o the public peace.

"All subjects of the British Government and those who possess estates on both sides the river Sutlege, who by their faithful adheren ce to the British Government may be liable to sustain loss, shall be indemnified and secured in all their just rights and privileges.

"On the other hand, all subjects of the British Government who shall continue in the service of the Lahore state, and who disobey this proclamation by not immediately returning to their allegiance, will be liable to have their property on this side the Sutlege confiscated, and declared to be aliens and enemies of the British Government.

"By order of the Right Hon. the Governor-General of India,

"F. Currie,

"Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General.

"*Camp, Lushkuree Khan-ke-Serai,*

Dec. 13, 1845."

The operations that ensued upon the publication of this proclamation and the advance of the British troops are described in the despatches of the Governor-General of India, who was himself in the field, acting under the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough, as second in command.

A few fragments of the despatches will suffice for the purposes of historical detail.

"The Sikh army, in large numbers, commenced crossing the Sutlege on the 11th December, and, after investing Ferozepore on one side, took up an entrenched position at the village of Ferozeshah, about ten miles in advance of Ferozepore, and about the same distance from the village of Moodkee.

"In this camp the enemy had placed 108 pieces of cannon, some of large calibre, with a force exceeding 50,000 men, for the purpose of intercepting the approach of the British force moving up from Umballa, to the relief of Ferozepore, which had been thus treacherously attacked, without provocation or declaration of hostilities.

"I had ordered, on the 8th instant, that portion of our army posted at Umballa for defensive purposes, to move up on the 11th; and, after a rapid march of 150 miles, it reached Moodkee on the 18th, where, on the evening of the same day, it repulsed an attack of the Sikh army, and captured 17 guns. On the following day the army was concentrated at Moodkee, and on the 21st, moved by its left on Ferozepore; and having on the march formed its junction at half-past one o'clock with 5,000 men and 21 guns, under Major-General Sir John Littler,

which had moved from Ferozepore that morning, the Commander-in-Chief formed the army in order of battle, and attacked the enemy's entrenched camp, and on that evening and the following morning captured 70 pieces of artillery, taking possession of the enemy's camp, with large quantities of ammunition and warlike store.

"These successful and energetic operations have been followed by the retreat of the Sikh army to the other side of the Sutlege; the British army being now encamped between Ferozepore and the fords of the Sutlege."

The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough, gives of course a more minute account of the operation, confirming, however, the broad facts stated by the Governor-General. The action of the 18th December, at Moodkee, when the Sikh army attacked the British troops the instant they had reached their camping ground is thus related.

"Soon after mid-day, the division under Major-General Sir Harry Smith, a brigade of that under Major-General Sir J. M'Caskill, and another of that under Major-General Gilbert, with five troops of horse artillery, and two light field batteries, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brooke, of the Horse Artillery (brigadier in command of the artillery force), and the cavalry division,

consisting of her Majesty's 3rd Light Dragoons, the body guard, 4th and 5th Light Cavalry, and 9th Irregular Cavalry, took up their encamping ground in front of Moodkee.

" The troops were in a state of great exhaustion, principally from the want of water, which was not procurable on the road, when, about three P. M., information was received that the Sikh army was advancing; and the troops had scarcely time to get under arms, and move to their positions, when the fact was ascertained.

" I immediately pushed forward the horse artillery and cavalry, directing the infantry, accompanied by the field batteries, to move forward in support. We had not proceeded beyond two miles when we found the enemy in position. They were said to consist of from 15,000 to 20,000 infantry, about the same force of cavalry, and 40 guns. They evidently had either just taken up this position, or were advancing in order of battle against us.

" To resist their attack, and to cover the formation of the infantry, I advanced the cavalry under Brigadiers White, Gough, and Mactier, rapidly to the front, in columns of squadrons, and occupied the plain. They were speedily followed by the five troops of horse artillery, under Brigadier Brooke, who took up a forward position, having the cavalry then on his flanks.

"The country is a dead flat, covered at short intervals with a low, but in some places, thick jhow jungle, and dotted with sandy hillocks. The enemy screened their infantry and artillery behind this jungle, and such undulations as the ground afforded; and, whilst our twelve battalions formed from echellon of brigade into line, opened a very severe cannonade upon our advancing troops, which was vigorously replied to by the battery of horse artillery under Brigadier Brooke, which was soon joined by the two light field batteries. The rapid and well-directed fire of our artillery appeared soon to paralyse that of the enemy; and, as it was necessary to complete our infantry dispositions without advancing the artillery too near the jungle, I directed the cavalry under Brigadiers White and Gough to make a flank movement on the enemy's left, with a view of threatening and turning that flank, if possible. With praiseworthy gallantry, the 3rd Light Dragoons, with the 2nd brigade of cavalry, consisting of the body guard and fifth Light Cavalry, with a portion of the 4th Lancers, turned the left of the Sikh army, and, sweeping along the whole rear of its infantry and guns, silenced for a time the latter, and put their numerous cavalry to flight. Whilst this movement was taking place on the enemy's left, I directed the remainder of the

4th Lancers, the 9th Irregular Cavalry, under Brigadier Mactier, with a light field battery, to threaten their right. This manœuvre was also successful. Had not the infantry and guns of the enemy been screened by the jungle these brilliant charges of the cavalry would have been productive of greater effect.

"When the infantry advanced to the attack, Brigadier Brooke rapidly pushed on his horse artillery close to the jungle, and the cannonade was resumed on both sides. The infantry, under Major-Generals Sir Harry Smith, Gilbert, and Sir John M'Caskill, attacked in echellon of lines the enemy's infantry, almost invisible amongst wood and the approaching darkness of night. The opposition of the enemy was such as might have been expected from troops who had everything at stake, and who had long vaunted of being irresistible. Their ample and extended line, from their great superiority of numbers, far outflanked ours; but this was counteracted by the flank movements of our cavalry. The attack of the infantry now commenced; and the roll of fire from this powerful arm soon convinced the Sikh army that they had met with a foe they little expected; and their whole force was driven from position after position with great slaughter, and the loss of 17 pieces of artillery, some of them of heavy calibre; our infantry using that

never-failing weapon, the bayonet, whenever the enemy stood. Night only saved them from worse disaster, for this stout conflict was maintained during an hour and a half of dim starlight, amidst a cloud of dust from the sandy plain, which yet more obscured every object."

The loss in this conflict was very severe. It consisted of 13 officers, 2 native officers, 15 serjeants or havildars, 1 trumpeter, 176 rank and file, 5 syces and grasscutters, 3 syce drivers, 210 horses, killed; 39 officers, 9 native officers, 42 serjeants or havildars, 1 trumpeter, 545 rank and file, 12 lascars, 2 syce drivers, 7 syces, 92 horses, wounded.

Amongst the European officers slain was the renowned Major-General Sir Robert Sale, who had previously achieved distinction in Affghanistan, Burmah, and many other scenes of Indian warfare.

Of the actions which took place on the 21st and 22nd December, the following account is given by the Commander-in-Chief:—

"On the morning of the 21st, the offensive was resumed; our columns of all arms debouched four miles on the road to Ferozeshah, where it was known that the enemy, posted in great force and with a most formidable artillery, had remained since the action of the 18th, incessantly employed in entrenching his position. Instead

of advancing to the direct attack of their formidable works, our force manœuvred to their right: the second and fourth divisions of infantry, in front, supported by the first division and cavalry in second line, continued to defile for some time out of cannon-shot between the Sikhs and Ferozepore. The desired effect was not long delayed; a cloud of dust was seen on our left, and, according to the instructions sent him on the preceding evening, Major-General Sir John Littler, with his division, availing himself of the offered opportunity, was discovered in full march to unite his force with mine. The junction was soon effected, and thus was accomplished one of the great objects of al' our harassing marches and privations, in the relief of this division of our army from the blockade of the numerous forces by which it was surrounded.

"Dispositions were now made for a united attack on the enemy's entrenched camp. We found it to be a parallelogram, of about a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth, including within its area the strong village of Ferozeshah; the shorter sides looking towards the Sutlege and Moodkee, and the longer towards Ferozepore and the open country. We moved against the last named face, the ground in front of which was like the Sikh position in Moodkee, covered with low jungle.

"The divisions of Major-General Sir John Littler, Brigadier Wallace (who had succeeded Major-General Sir John M'Caskill,) and Major-General Gilbert, deployed into line, having in the centre our whole force of artillery, with the exception of three troops of horse artillery, one on either flank and one in support, to be moved as occasion required. Major-General Sir Harry Smith's division, and our small cavalry force, moved in second line, having a brigade in reserve to cover each wing.

"I should here observe, that I committed the charge and direction of the left wing to Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Hardinge, while I personally conducted the right.

"A very heavy cannonade was opened by the enemy, who had dispersed over their position upwards of 100 guns, more than 40 of which were of battering calibre; these kept up a heavy and well-directed fire, which the practice of our far less numerous artillery, of much lighter metal, checked in some degree, but could not silence; finally, in the face of a storm of shot and shell, our infantry advanced and carried these formidable entrenchments; they threw themselves upon the guns, and with matchless gallantry wrested them from the enemy; but, when the batteries were partially within our grasp, our soldiery had to face such a fire of musketry from

the Sikh infantry, arrayed behind their guns, that, in spite of the most heroic efforts, a portion only of the entrenchment could be carried. Night fell while the conflict was everywhere raging.

"Although I now brought up Major-General Sir Harry Smith's division, and he captured and long retained another point of the position, and her Majesty's 3rd Light Dragoons charged and took some of the most formidable batteries, yet the enemy remained in possession of a considerable portion of the great quadrangle, whilst our troops, intermingled with theirs, kept possession of the remainder, and finally bivouacked upon it, exhausted by their gallant efforts, greatly reduced in numbers, and suffering extremely from thirst, yet animated by an indomitable spirit. In this state of things the long night wore away.

"Near the middle of it, one of their heavy guns was advanced and played with deadly effect upon our troops. Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Hardinge immediately formed her Majesty's 80th foot and the 1st European light infantry. They were led to the attack by their commanding officers, and animated in their exertions by Lieutenant-Colonel Wood (aide-de-camp to the Lieutenant-General), who was wounded in the outset. The 80th captured the gun, and the enemy, dismayed by this counter-check, did not venture to press on further. During the whole night, however,

they continued to harass our troops by fire of artillery, wherever moonlight discovered our position.

"But with daylight of the 22nd came retribution. Our infantry formed line, supported on both flanks by horse artillery, whilst a fire was opened from our centre by such of our heavy guns as remained effective, aided by a flight of rockets. A masked battery played with great effect upon this point, dismounting our pieces and blowing up our tumbrils. At this moment, Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Hardinge placed himself at the head of the left, whilst I rode at the head of the right wing.

"Our line advanced, and, unchecked by the enemy's fire, drove them rapidly out of the village of Ferozeshah and their encampment; then, changing front to its left, on its centre, our force continued to sweep the camp, bearing down all opposition, and dislodged the enemy from their whole position. The line then halted, as if on a day of manœuvre, receiving its two leaders as they rode along its front with a gratifying cheer, and displaying the captured standards of the Khalsa army. We had taken upwards of 73 pieces of cannon, and were masters of the whole field."

The loss of the British on this second occasion greatly exceeded that of the first, but the great

object of checking the advance of the Sikhs had been accomplished. It was now intended that further operations should be suspended until large reinforcements could be received from the military stations in Upper India, wherewith to enter the Punjaub, and effectually chastise the aggression of the Sikhs.

An attempt by the enemy to cut off the communication between Loodianah and Ferozepore rendered it, however, necessary to dispatch Sir Harry Smith with a division of artillery, cavalry, and infantry, to relieve the garrison at the former place. This he accomplished, after a series of skilful manœuvres, forming a junction with the Loodianah troops under Brigadier Godby, and giving the Sikhs battle at the village of Aliwal. In this action, the enemy, though far outnumbering our force, were most completely defeated and driven across the Sutlege with immense loss. Sir Harry Smith's despatch gives a distinct and animated account of this signal victory over the Sikhs, describing with graphic force the cool intrepidity and perfect discipline of the British and native troops, and the able generalship of their gallant Commander. So vivid a description of such a brilliant exploit merits a more permanent record than the columns of a newspaper.

To the Adjutant-General of the Army.

"Sir,—My despatch to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, of the 23rd instant, will have put his Excellency in possession of the position of the force under my command, after having formed a junction with the troops at Loodianah, hemmed in by a formidable body of the Sikh army under Runjoor Singh and the Rajah of Ladwa. The enemy strongly entrenched himself around the little fort of Buddawul by breastworks and 'abattis,' which he precipitately abandoned on the night of the 22nd instant (retiring as it were upon the ford of Tulwun), having ordered all the boats which were opposite Philour to that Ghat. This movement he effected during the night, and, by making a considerable detour, placed himself at a distance of ten miles, and consequently out of my reach. I could therefore only push forward my cavalry so soon as I had ascertained he had marched during the night, and I occupied immediately his vacated position. It appeared subsequently he had no intention of re-crossing the Sutlege, but moved down to the Ghat of Tulwun (being cut off from that of Philour by the position my force occupied after its relief of Loodianah) for the purpose of protecting the passage of a

very considerable reinforcement of twelve guns and 4000 of the Regular or "Aieen" troops, called Avitabile's Battalion, entrenching himself strongly in a semicircle, his flanks resting on the river, his position covered with from forty to fifty guns (generally of large calibre)—howitzers and mortars. The reinforcement crossed during the night of the 27th instant, and encamped to the right of the main army.

"Meanwhile his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, with that foresight and judgment which marks the able General, had reinforced me by a considerable addition to my cavalry, some guns, and the 2nd Brigade of my own division, under Brigadier Wheeler, C.B. This reinforcement reached me on the 26th, and I had intended the next morning to move upon the enemy in his entrenchments, but the troops required one day's rest after the long marches Brigadier Wheeler had made.

"I have now the honour to lay before you the operations of my united forces on the morning of the eventful 28th of January, for his Excellency's information. The body of troops under my command having been increased, it became necessary so to organize and brigade them as to render them manageable in action. The Cavalry, under the command of Brigadier Cureton, and Horse Artillery, under Major Lawrenson, were put

into two brigades; the one under Brigadier Macdowal, C. B., and the other under Brigadier Stedman. The 1st Division as it stood, two brigades: her Majesty's 53rd and 30th Native Infantry, under Brigadier Wilson, of the latter corps; the 36th Native Infantry, and Nusseree Battalion, under Brigadier Godby; and the Shekawattee Brigade, under Major Forster. The Sirmoor Battalion I attached to Brigadier Wheeler's Brigade of the 1st Division, the 42nd Native Infantry having been left at Head Quarters.

"At daylight on the 28th my order of advance was, the cavalry in front, in contiguous columns of squadrons of regiments; two troops of horse artillery in the interval of brigades; the infantry in contiguous columns of brigades at intervals of deploying distance; artillery in the intervals, followed by two eight-inch howitzers on travelling carriages, brought into the field from the fort of Loodianah by the indefatigable exertions of Lieutenant-Colonel Lane, horse artillery; Brigadier Godby's Brigade, which I had marched out from Loodianah the previous evening, on the right, the Shekawattee Infantry on the left, the 4th Irregular Cavalry and the Shekawattee Cavalry considerably to the right for the purpose of sweeping the banks of the wet nullah on my right, and preventing any

of the enemy's horse attempting an inroad towards Loodianah, or any attempt upon the baggage assembled round the fort of Buddawul.

"In this order the troops moved forward to wards the enemy, a distance of six miles, the advance conducted by Captain Waugh, 16th Lancers, the Deputy-Assistant Quarter-Master of Cavalry; Major Bradford, of the 1st Cavalry, and Lieutenant Strachey, of the Engineers, who had been jointly employed in the conduct of patrols up to the enemy's position, and for the purpose of reporting upon the facility and points of approach. Previously to the march of the troops it had been intimated to me by Major Mackeson, that the information by spies led to the belief the enemy would move somewhere at daylight, either on Jugraon, my position of Buddawul, or Loodianah. On a near approach to his outposts this rumour was confirmed by a spy, who had just left his camp, saying the Sikh army was actually in march towards Jugraon. My advance was steady, my troops well in hand, and if he had anticipated me on the Jugraon road, I could have fallen upon his centre with advantage.

"From the tops of the houses of the village of Poorein, I had a distant view of the enemy. He *was* in motion, and appeared directly opposite my front on a ridge, of which the village of Aliwal

may be regarded as the centre. His left appeared still to occupy its ground in the circular entrenchment; his right was brought forward and occupied the ridge. I immediately deployed the cavalry into line, and moved on. As I neared the enemy, the ground became most favourable for the troops to manœuvre, being open and hard grass-land: I ordered the cavalry to take ground to the right and left by brigades, thus displaying the heads of the infantry columns, and as they reached the hard ground I directed them to deploy into line. Brigadier Godby's Brigade was in direct echellon to the rear of the right, the Shekawattee infantry in like manner to the rear of my left; the cavalry in direct echellon on, and well to the rear of, both flanks of the infantry. The artillery massed on the right, and centre, and left. After deployment I observed the enemy's left to outflank me, I therefore broke into open columns and took ground to my right: when I had gained sufficient ground, the troops wheeled into line: there was no dust, the sun shone brightly. These manœuvres were performed with the celerity and precision of the most correct field day. The glistening of the bayonets and swords of this order of battle, was most imposing, and the line advanced. Scarcely had it moved forward 150 yards when at 10 o'clock the enemy opened a

fierce cannonade from his whole line. At first his balls fell short, but quickly reached us. Thus upon him, and capable of better ascertaining his position, I was compelled to halt the line, though under fire, for a few moments, until I ascertained that by bringing up my right and carrying the village of Aliwal I could with great effect precipitate myself upon his left and centre. I therefore quickly brought up Brigadier Godby's Brigade, and with it and the 1st Brigade under Brigadier Hicks, made a rapid and noble charge, carried the village and two guns of large calibre. The line I ordered to advance—H. M.'s 31st Foot and the native regiments contending for the front, and the battle became general. The enemy had a numerous body of cavalry on the heights to his left, and I ordered Brigadier Cureton to bring up the right brigade of cavalry, who, in the most gallant manner, dashed in among them, and drove them back upon their infantry. Meanwhile a second gallant charge to my right was made by the light cavalry and the body guard. The Shekawattee Brigade was moved well to the right, in support of Brigadier Cureton. When I observed the enemy's encampment, and saw it was full of infantry, I immediately brought upon it Brigadier Godby's Brigade, by changing front, and taking the enemy's infantry 'en reverse.' They drove

them before them and took some guns without a check.

"While these operations were going on upon the right, and the enemy's left flank was thus driven back, I occasionally observed the brigade under Brigadier Wheeler, an officer in whom I have the greatest confidence, charging and carrying guns and everything before it, again connecting his line and moving on in a manner which ably displayed the coolness of the brigadier and the gallantry of his irresistible brigade,—H. M.'s 50th Foot, the 48th N. I., and the Sirmoor Battalion, although the loss was, I regret to say, severe in the 50th. Upon the left Brigadier Wilson, with H. M.'s 53rd and the 30th N. I., equalled in celerity and regularity their comrades on the right, and this brigade was opposed to the 'Aieen' troops, called Avitabiles, when the fight was fiercely raging.

"The enemy, well driven back on his left and centre, endeavoured to hold his right to cover the passage of the river, and he strongly occupied the village of Bhoondee. I directed a squadron of the 16th Lancers, under Major Smith and Captain Pearson, to charge a body to the right of the village, which they did in the most gallant and determined style, bearing everything before them, as a squadron under Captain Bere had previously done, going right through a square of

infantry, wheeling about and re-entering the square in the most intrepid manner with the deadly lance.—This charge was accompanied by the 3rd Cavalry, under Major Angelo, and as gallantly sustained. The largest gun upon the field and seven others were then captured, while the 53rd Regiment carried the village by the bayonet, and the 30th N. I. wheeled round to the rear in a most spirited manner. Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander's and Captain Turton's troop of Horse Artillery, under Major Lawrenson dashed almost among the flying Infantry, committing great havoc, until about 800 or 1000 men rallied under the high bank of a nullah, and opened a heavy but ineffectual fire from below the bank. I immediately directed the 30th N. I. to charge them, which they were able to do upon their left flank, while in a line in rear of the village. This native corps nobly obeyed my orders, and rushed among the Avitabile troops, driving them from under the bank, and exposing them once more to the deadly fire of twelve guns within three hundred yards.—The destruction was very great, as may be supposed by guns served as these were. H. M.'s 53rd Regiment moved forward in support of the 30th N. I. by the right of the village. The battle was won, our troops advancing with the most perfect order to the common focus, the passage of the

river.—The enemy, completely hemmed in, were flying from our fire, and precipitating themselves in disordered masses into the ford and boats in the utmost confusion and consternation. Our eight-inch howitzers soon began to play upon their boats, when the 'debris' of the Sikh army appeared upon the opposite and high bank of the river, flying in every direction, although a sort of line was attempted to countenance their retreat, until *all* our guns commenced a furious cannonade, when they quickly receded. Nine guns were on the verge of tne river by the ford. It appears as if they had been unlimbered to cover the ford. These being loaded were fired once upon our advance. Two others were sticking in the river; one of them we got out; two were seen to sink in the quicksands, two were dragged to the opposite bank and abandoned. These, and the one in the middle of the river, were gallantly spiked by Lieutenant Holmes of the 11th Irregular Cavalry, and Gunner Scott of the 1st troop 2nd Brigade Horse Artillery, who rode into the stream and crossed for the purpose, covered by our guns and Light Infantry.

"Thus ended the battle of Aliwal—one of the most glorious victories ever achieved in India. By the united efforts of her Majesty's and the Honourable Company's troops, *every gun* the enemy had fell into our hands, as I infer from

his never opening one upon us from the opposite bank of the river, which is high and favourable for the purpose:—fifty-two guns are now in the Ordnance Park, two sank in the bed of the Sutlege, and two were spiked on the opposite bank—making a total of fifty-six pieces of cannon captured or destroyed.* Many Jinjalls which were attached to Avitabile's Corps, and which aided in the defence of the village of Bhoondee, have also been taken. The whole army of the enemy has been driven headlong over the difficult ford of a broad river; his camp, baggage, stores of ammunition and of grain, his all in fact, wrested from him by the repeated charges of cavalry and infantry aided by the guns of Alexander, Turton, Lane, Mill, Boileau, and of the Shekawattee Brigade, and by the 8-inch howitzers; our guns literally being constantly ahead of everything. The determined bravery of all was as conspicuous as noble. I am unwont to praise when praise is not merited; and I here most avowedly express my firm opinion and conviction, that no troops in any battle on record ever behaved more nobly. British and native no distinction, cavalry all vying with H. M.'s 16th Lancers and striving to head in the repeated charges. Our guns and gunners, officers and

* Eleven guns since ascertained to be sunk in the river,—total sixty-seven. Thirty odd jingalls fell into our hands.

men, may be equalled, but cannot be excelled, by any artillery in the world. Throughout the day, no hesitation; a bold and intrepid advance: and thus it is that our loss is comparatively small, though I deeply regret to say severe. The enemy fought with much resolution: they maintained frequent rencontres with our cavalry hand to hand. In one charge of infantry upon H. M.'s 16th Lancers, they threw away their muskets and came on with their swords and targets against the lance.

"Having thus done justice, and justice alone, to the gallant troops his Excellency entrusted to my command, I would gladly, if the limits of a despatch (already too much lengthened I fear) permitted me, do that justice to individuals all deserve. This cannot be, therefore must I confine myself to mention those officers whose continued services, experience, and standing, placed them in conspicuous commands. In Brigadier Wheeler, my second in command, I had a support I could rely on with every confidence, and most gallantly did he head his brigade. From Brigadiers Wilson, Godby, and Hicks, I had also every support, and every cause to be gratified with their exertions. In Brigadier Cureton, her Majesty has one of those officers rarely met with: the cool experience of the veteran soldier is combined with youthful activity. His know-

ledge of outpost duty, and the able manner he handles his cavalry under the heaviest fire, rank him among the first cavalry officers of the age; and I beg to draw his Excellency's marked attention to this honest encomium. In Major Lawrenson, commanding the artillery; Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander, Captain Turton, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lane, the service has officers of the very first order; and I am equally satisfied with Captain Boileau, in command of the 9-pounder battery, and with Lieutenant Mill in charge of four light guns. The two 8-inch howitzers did right good service, organized, equipped, and brought into the field by the exertions, and determination to overcome all difficulties, of Lieutenant-Colonel Lane, equally well served and brought forward always with the infantry by Lieutenant Austin.

"To Brigadiers Macdowal and Stedman, commanding their gallant brigades of cavalry, the fortune of the day is greatly indebted, and to all commanding officers of cavalry and infantry, my warmest thanks are due—to Major Smith, commanding H. M.'s 16th Lancers, who was wounded; to Major Bradford, of the 1st Light Cavalry; to Major Angelo, of the 3rd Light Cavalry; to Major Alexander, of the 5th Light Cavalry; to Captain Hill, of the 4th Irrgeular Cavalry; to Major Forster, of the Shekawattee Brigade; and

to Captain Quin, of the Body Guard; to Lieutenant-Colonel Spence, commanding H. M.'s 31st Foot; to Major Bird, of the 24th N. I.; to Captain Corfield, of the 47th N. I.; to Lieutenant-Colonel Ryan, K.H., of H. M.'s 50th Regiment; to Captain Troup, of the 48th N. I.; to Captain Fisher, of the Sirmoor Battalion; to Lieutenant-Colonel Philips, of H. M.'s 53rd Foot; to Captain Jack, of the 30th N. I.; to Captain Fleming, of the 36th N. I; and to Brigadier Penny, of the Nusseree Battalion.

"His Excellency having witnessed the glorious services of H. M. 31st and 50th Regiments, and of the 24th, 47th, and 48th Native Infantry, I have only to report upon H. M.'s 53rd, a young regiment, but veterans in daring gallantry and regularity; and Lieutenant-Colonel Phillips's bravery and coolness attracted the attention of myself and every staff officer I sent to him. The 30th and 36th Regiments N. I. are an honour to any service; and the intrepid little Goorkhas of the Nusseree and Sirmoor Battalions in bravery and obedience can be exceeded by none. I much regretted I had no brigade to give Brigadier Penny, who is in orders for one as his Excellency is aware. I can only say therefore, that when he gets his brigade, if he leads it as he did his gallant band of Goorkhas, it will be inferior to none.

"The services of H. M.'s 16th Lancers His Excellency has witnessed on a former occasion, and the exalted character of this regiment is equally before him. The 1st and 3rd Light Cavalry and the 4th Irregulars I believe he has not seen in action, and it is my duty, therefore, joyfully to report the manner they contended for the glorious prize of victory, in the many charges they this day delivered; and it will be equally gratifying when I assure his Excellency, the Body Guard under Captain Quin, and the 5th Light Cavalry, well did their duty. The Shekawattee Brigade, under Major Forster, is steady, obedient, and well appointed; Artillery, Horse, and Infantry, each arm striving to distinguish itself in the field.

"Capt. Matthias, of H. M.'s 62nd, in charge of a detachment of convalescents of H. M.'s Service, and Lieut. Hebbert of the Honourable Company's Sappers and Miners, readily performed the duty assigned them in protecting the 8-inch howitzers.

"To Captain Lugard, the Assistant Adjutant-General of this force, I am deeply indebted, and the service still more so; a more cool, intrepid, and trustworthy officer cannot be brought forward; and I may say the same with great sincerity of Lieutenant Galloway, the Deputy-Assistant Quarter-Master-General of the 1st Di-

vision. Captain Waugh, of the 16th Lancers, Deputy-Assistant Quarter-Master-General to the cavalry, is an officer of no ordinary abilities; and the manner in which he and Major Bradford, of the 1st Light Cavalry, daily patrolled, reconnoitred, and made themselves acquainted with the position of the enemy, mainly contributed to the glorious result.

"The brigadiers all speak in high terms of their majors of brigade—Captain O'Hanlon, of the 1st Brigade, who was wounded in the action and replaced by Captain Palmer, of the 48th N. I.; Captain Garnock, of H. M.'s 31st Foot, of the 2nd Brigade; Captain Loftie, 30th N. I., of the 3rd Brigade; and Lieutenant Vanrenen, of the 4th Brigade; Lieutenant Pattinson, of H. M.'s 16th Lancers, of the 1st Brigade of Cavalry; and Captain Campbell, of the 1st Light Cavalry, of the 2nd Brigade.

"Of the services of Lieut. A. W. C. Plowden, 3rd Light Cavalry, Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General, and my Aide-de-camp Lieutenant Holdich, and of Lieutenant Tombs of the Artillery, my acting Aide-de-camp, I am fully sensible, and with the manner which they aided me in carrying orders I am much satisfied. Lieutenants Strachey and Baird Smith, of the Engineers, greatly contributed to the completion of my plans and arrangements, and were ever

ready to act in any capacity; they are two most promising and gallant officers.

"I have every reason to be satisfied with the Commissariat arrangements under Captains Mainwaring and Williamson.

"Owing to the judicious arrangements of Dr. Murray, field surgeon, every wounded officer and soldier was placed under cover, and provided for soon after dark; and for the zeal displayed by this able and persevering medical officer, and to the several regimental surgeons, are the wounded and our country deeply indebted. The whole of the wounded were moved yesterday to I oodianah, for the sake of accommodation and comforts which could not be given them in the field.

"If not irregular, I beg you would lay before the Commander-in-chief, for submission to the Right Honourable the Governor-General, my just sense of the valuable services of the political officers associated with me:—Major Mackeson, Captain J. D. Cunningham, and Lieutenant Lake. For the assistance I have received from them in their political capacity, I feel most grateful. On the morning of the battle each offered to aid me in his military capacity: frequently did I employ them to carry orders to the thickest of the fight; and frequently did they gallantly accompany charges of cavalry.

"The reports of the several brigadiers I en-

close; a return of the officers commanding and second in command of regiments; also a return of killed and wounded; a return of ordnance captured and of ordnance stores; likewise a return of commissariat stores, grain, &c.; and a rough sketch of the field of battle of Aliwal.

"The fort of Goongrana has, subsequently to the battle, been evacuated; and I yesterday evening blew up the fort of Buddawul: I shall now blow up that of Noorpoor. A portion of the peasantry, viz. the Sikhs, appear less friendly to us, while the Mussulmen rejoice in being under our Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. G. Smith,
Major-General Commanding.

Camp, Field of Battle of Aliwal, 30*th Jan.* 1846.

True copy. (Signed) P. Grant, *Major,*
Deputy-Adjutant-General of the Army.

CHAPTER V.

CLIMATE AND PRODUCTIONS OF THE PUNJAUB.

Having brought down the history of the Punjaub to the present moment, we now come to treat of those matters which most concern us as the probable future possessors of the interesting region under notice, namely, the climate, the people, the productions, and the commerce of the country.

The climate of the Punjaub varies not only with the seasons but the locality. The heat is at its greatest intensity in the month of Jun when the thermometer has been known at Lahore to rise as high as 112° in a tent artificially cooled. Even in the winter, that is to say, between December and the beginning of March, the thermometer at mid-day seldom falls below 70° and is often as high as 80°. The heat is for the greater part of the year accompanied by great dryness in the atmosphere, excepting at midsummer, when the rains of the Indian monsoon

fall and continue for some weeks, the northern part of the country being much more plentifully visited by them than the southern. Early in the mornings of the winter season, and during the night, the cold is severe, the thermometer, even in the plains, falling in the north as low as 30°, while in the more elevated regions, which separate the Punjaub plains from Affghanistan, it is often down in the month of December to 2° below freezing point. In Kashmir, however, a much greater degree of cold prevails. Snow falls in December, preceded by night frosts and foggy days (or what resembles fog) in November. The cold is then several degrees below freezing point, and the country is bare of vegetation. A sort of spring commences in April, accompanied by heavy rains, which continue until the beginning of June, when summer sets in with a thermometer range of 75° to 85°, and gradually verges into an autumn about the beginning of September. A milder temperature than the extreme summer heat can however always be obtained by an ascent of the mountains which encircle the valley.

The diseases common to British India afflict humanity in the plains of the Punjaub in a similar degree. Febrile complaints, diseases of the liver, agues, dysentery, and jaundice are common, especially at the close of the rainy monsoon; and cholera sometimes visits the populace, but is not

so frequently fatal as the low state of medical knowledge among the Punjaubee practitioners would lead people to suppose. Certain old-wife remedies, such as decoction of the chicoree plant, are used with effect in combating jaundice, and it is not unusual to assail cholera with doses of the juice of onions, and dysentery with powdered charcoal or burnt cork. The deaths from disease throughout the army do not exceed one per cent. per annum; while in the upper regions of Kashmir, Ladakh, &c., the proportion is even smaller; in fact, Kashmir, in spite of the periodical humidity of the atmosphere, boasts the finest climate in the world. The deaths from wounds and contusions are of course more frequent, for the science of surgery is as yet but little understood in the Punjaub, and nature, therefore, is generally obliged to act for herself.

If the Punjaub be not equal in fertility to the provinces of India under British rule, it is second only to the most favoured of those districts, and were a few of the various improvements in the art of manuring and cultivating the soil which scientific men and zealous agriculturists have introduced throughout the United Kingdom and the colonies once applied to the Punjaub, it is not unsafe to predict that the fruits of the land would soon be as unrivalled for their quality as their abundance.

The nearer we approach the rivers in the Punjaub, the greater the fertility. Irrigation, though of the most primitive kind, scientifically considered, does something for the districts remote from the great reservoirs, but still there are large tracts of country, where nothing but the mimosa, the tamarisk, and similar offspring of dry and sandy soils flourish. Again, as we approach the mountains we find a richer country and many extensive jungles, exhibiting the natural productiveness of the country, and the urgent necessity for the regulating and directing hand of the farmer and the gardener.

The chief products of the cultivated and most fertile parts of the Punjaub are wheat and other descriptions of grain, indigo, sugar, rice, opium, cotton, hemp, assafœtida, and various sorts of oil seeds. The gardens yield guavas, dates, mangoes, limes, lemons, peaches, apricots, figs, pomegranates, plums, oranges, mulberries, grapes, almonds, melons, apples, beans, cucumbers, carrots, turnips, and a great variety of fruits unknown even by name to Europeans. Flowers, too, are likewise produced in beautiful profusion. In the more arid and neglected parts of the country, we find the date palm, wild palm, willows, acacias, the sissoo (an Indian tree valuable for its timber), the camel thorn, the byr apple, the madder (tropœa) and the wild rue. Shrubs

and trees adapted for fuel are rare, in consequence of which the natives follow the practice of the people of Hindostan, and use cow-dung.

The mineral wealth of the Punjaub is considerable, but under the government of the Sikhs scarcely anything has been done to evolve and bring it into use. Iron, copper, lead, salt, coal, nitre, plumbago, and even gold mines abound in the country, and properly worked would furnish an enormous revenue. A jealousy of European interference and influence has hitherto caused these treasures of the earth to be neglected.

Animal life in a great variety of forms abounds in the country of the Sikhs. Lions, tigers, panthers, leopards, are found in the jungles, as are wolves, lynxes, hyenas, bears, wild boars, foxes, jackals, otters, weasels, martens, porcupines, &c. The deer tribe are numerous, from the goat to the sambre, and there is no deficiency of the bat family; some of the larger of which latter are, according to Von Hügel, held in sacred estimation by the most devout followers of the Sikh religion. Camels are numerous; buffaloes and sheep are found in large herds and flocks. The flesh of cattle is however respected by the Sikhs, who only use the milk of the cow and the wool of the sheep, in addition to the skins or hides of either animal, which form an article of export. The Sikhs are extensive breeders of horses, in

which they take great pride. With Runjeet Singh admiration and love for these animals reached a passion, the knowledge of which induced the British government some years ago to send him some fine specimens of the cart-horse, in comparison to which the finest Punjaubee horses are but dwarf ponies.

The birds of the country are numerous and of great variety of character. Besides the common domestic fowl, the sparrow, the crow, the hawk, the magpie, the pigeon, and similar habitual tenants of the farm-yard, there are in the forests, fields, and lakes, pea-fowl and jungle-fowl, partridges, pheasants, quails, parrots, the wild duck, the teal, snipe, curlews, herons, cranes, eagles, pelicans, vultures, falcons, nightingales, the mocking-bird, owls, &c. The rivers swarm with fish, such as mullet, carp, &c., with a great variety totally unknown even by name to the European. As in all other parts of the warm and glowing East, reptiles are abundant, but the number of venomous serpents happily bears no proportion to the vast tribes of innocuous snakes. The bee and the silk-worm thrive in the Punjaub, and the fruits of their industry constitute valuable articles of trade and home consumption.

CHAPTER VI.

COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURES OF THE PUNJAUB.

The commerce of the Punjaub is extensive or otherwise, according to the political condition of the country for the time being. During the latter years of the rule of Runjeet Singh, the tranquillity which prevailed stimulated traffic, and a considerable commercial intercourse between the Punjaub, British India, and Affghanistan was the result. Since the demise of the Old Lion, however, trade has declined, owing to the distracted and insecure state of the country; the robberies upon the high road, vexatious exactions in the shape of duties and tolls, interruptions to manufactures, the absorption of capital in military armaments and civil contests, the withdrawal of large monetary resources from circulation and their removal to places of security, have all had their effect in checking and cramping mercantile operations. In ordinary and peaceful times, and under a wholesome system of rule, no doubt a very large trade might be firmly established; for, as we have shown, the products of the country are abundant, and in the

hands of people to whom the results of their industry are secured, may be turned to excellent account in a variety of ways. The manufactures consist chiefly of silks and cottons, arms, leather, and shawls; all, excepting the latter and the arms, which are the work of Kashmirian hands, very superior to similar workmanship in other parts of India. The arms, which are principally made at Lahore, consist of swords, spears, matchlocks, muskets, pistols, and armour, the latter being composed of helmets or skull-caps, coats of mail, breastplates, gauntlets, and shields. Many of the latter are, however, often manufactured of thick hides, studded, knotted, and plated with iron or brass. Next to Lahore, the chief manufacturing towns are Urmitzur, Mooltan, Shoojabad, and Leia. Shawls are made in considerable numbers at Umritzur, but they bear no comparison in quality with those manufactured at Kashmir, which once enjoyed so high a reputation in Europe, and which still possess a value in the eyes of women of taste and fashion. Perhaps a brief description, in this place, of the manner in which these beautiful garments are fabricated, will not be without interest or utility.

The tame goat, the wild goat, the wild sheep, the yax (a small ox), and some of the hill dogs, supply the wool required in the manufacture of the shawl. This wool, which lies close to the skin of the animal, under the external coating, is

of two colours, dark brown (sometimes approaching to black) and white, the former possessing about half the value only of the latter, which is better suited to dyeing. After the long hairs have been carefully separated from the mass, the residue undergoes a very careful washing, rice-flour forming an efficient substitute for soap. As soon as the whole is perfectly dry, the spinning-wheel comes into play. Women are employed on this part of the buisness at a very low rate of wages. The yarn is then dyed, not less than sixty different tints being employed by the dyers. The raw material being prepared, the loom and shuttle is now brought into operation; the design of the pattern is drawn by one hand, another selects the proportions and quality of the threads, the warp and woof are arranged by a third person, and then the weaving commences. The time occupied in the process depends in a great measure upon the pattern of the shawl; if it be brilliant and variegated, many months are consumed in the weaving; if simple, a shawl will be prepared in less than three months. It is unnecessary to tell the European reader, who has examined shawls from Kashmir, that the embroidered border is a separate piece of work attached to the middle by sewing. The value of the shawls when completed varies with the pattern. Moorcroft, one of the earliest English travellers in the Punjaub, computed a pair (for

they invariably sell in pairs) of the most costly shawls at no less than 700*l.* Von Hügel estimates the expense of a tolerably fine pair at 200*l.* This of course refers only to the cost of production, and bears no proportion to the sums paid in England or India for the best offspring of the Kashmir loom.

As the arms made by Kashmirian workmen at Lahore are superior to the handicraft of the Punjaub, it may easily be conceived that those manufactured in the valley of Kashmir itself are of a still superior order to the products of Lahore. It is more particularly in the casting, boring, polishing, and staining gun and pistol barrels, that the Kashmirian artisans excel; but their sword-blades are likewise of a good quality. Nor is it to these works alone that Kashmirian ingenuity is confined. Their lackered ware and jewellery, their leather, their polished paper, and aromatic oils, all claim attention for their peculiar beauty and superior quality. Nevertheless the commerce is insignificant in extent, for Sikh tyranny and misgovernment have in a measure blighted the efforts of the artisan.

The transit of goods from countries beyond the Indus to Hindostan, and *vice versa*, forms a larger source of mercantile revenue than the returns upon the home manufactures upon the country. But in this respect also the paralyzing effect of internal disturbance has been felt, and the want

of a fair system of collection of dues and tolls has at all times rendered the gross revenue precarious and infinitely below what would be obtained by an active, wise, and liberal administration. The goods imported from British India in quantities proportioned to the good understanding that may subsist with Affghanistan and other parts of Central Asia, are cotton, woollens, sugar, spices, dye-stuffs, silks, ivory, glass, hardware, copper, and iron vessels and utensils, precious stones, drugs, and groceries. Those that come across the Khyber mountains into the Punjaub, are gold, silver, horses, the lapis lazuli, cochineal, madder, safflower, assafœtida, fruits, wool, Russian cloths and hardware, silk, and some coarse cloths. The exports from the Punjaub are grain, hides (of animals that have died, for the slaughter of kine is prohibited), wool, silk and cotton fabrics, ghee, indigo, horses, shawls, and carpets. At the risk of repetition it may be stated, that the principal marts of the commerce of the country are Mooltan, Umritzur, Leia, and Lahore. The trade is carried on with the north-west and south-east by means of camels, mules, and donkeys; but from one part of the Punjaub to another, the five rivers afford the readiest channels of transport, and from the south to the western point of the territory of Scinde, Cutch, and Western India, the boats of the Indus convey the produce and manufactures.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GOVERNMENT AND ARMY OF THE PUNJAUB.

Although, under any circumstances that may arise to give the British a more direct influence over the Sikhs, it is to be presumed that the system of rule that has been in force since the latter became an independent nation, will not be tolerated in its original form, it may nevertheless be useful to describe the nature of the government to which the people have been accustomed.

In a previous chapter we have shown that, after the overthrow of the Mahomedan dominion in the Punjaub, the Sikh chieftains formed themselves into an oligarchy, which, like all similar institutions of which history preserves a record, gradually fell under the yoke of one family more potent than the rest, and at length of one man. The only governments, therefore, of which the Sikhs have had any experience were the aristocratic and the despotic; and, judging from their conduct and their internal prosperity under these

respective systems, we have no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that a despotism is the best suited to their temperament.

Runjeet Singh exercised an absolute and arbitrary sway over the people, constituting himself chief judge and referee in questions of importance; collecting and appropriating the revenue; appointing and removing all the state officers at will; personally regulating all political negotiations; and exercising the royal prerogative of coining money and making war. Under his rule, the whole country was divided into provinces, and these provinces into districts, which were farmed out to the highest bidders. The Maharajah pressing upon the provincial administrators for their quota of revenue, and these authorities, who were armed with the terrible power of life and death, in their turn grinding the farmers with their exactions, the condition of the peasantry, whom the farmers in like manner squeezed for rents, was always the most abject and pitiful that can be conceived. The provincial governor, remunerating himself with the surplus of the revenue which he had contracted to pay the sovereign, seldom at a lower rate than four annas in the rupee, or one-fourth of the estimated annual value of the cultivated land (about 2,500,000*l.* sterling), was unscrupulous as to the means

by which he wrung their substance from the landholders. The rabble soldiery, placed at his disposal for the defence of the portion of the state committed to his custody and government, were continually employed to coerce the zemindar; so that, whatever might be the lot of the latter, and of the ryots, or villagers, who tilled the earth, the administrator of the province was seldom without a satisfactory share of its fruits. Many of these men consequently became rich and powerful chiefs; and although, in several instances, sprung from the dregs of the populace, attained a high rank, not only as lairds of extensive provinces, but as officers of the state. The late Rajah Dhyan Singh, who was for a long time Runjeet Singh's prime minister and chief conductor of all the negotiations with the British government, was originally but a private dragoon or trooper, upon one rupee (two shillings) per diem.

The revenue system in force in Runjeet Singh's time continuing to this hour, it may readily be conceived that the transfer of the country from Sikh to British rule will not be unacceptable to the agricultural population, who see that, in the provinces of India contiguous to the Punjaub, the cultivator enjoys in peace and security a fair proportion of the results of his industry.

Amongst the Mussulmans this desire for a change of masters is particularly strong; and there is no doubt that, in time, the Hindoos would become equally reconciled to a just and equitable system of government; but at present the feeling of the latter against a race who are not restrained by religious obligation from the use of animal food, is anything but friendly. The Sikh soldiery are to a man opposed to British supremacy; for its establishment would prove a death-blow to their licentious and reckless habits, and destroy the chances of advancement, which are great in proportion to the prevalence of anarchy and civil discord.

A description of the Sikh army is not irrelevant to the subject of this chapter.

This force, consisting of about 110,000 men, is divided into regulars and irregulars; the former of whom, about 70,000 strong, are drilled and appointed according to the European system. The cavalry branch of the disciplined force amounts to nearly 13,000, and the infantry and artillery to 60,000 more. The irregulars, variously armed and equipped, are nearly 40,000 strong, of which number upwards of 20,000 are cavalry, the remainder consisting of infantry and matchlock men, while the contingents, which the sirdars or chiefs are obliged to parade on the requisition of the sovereign, amount to consider-

ably above 30,000 more. The artillery consisted in Runjeet's time of 376 guns, and 370 swivels mounted on camels or on light carriages adapted to their size. There is no distinct corps of artillery as in other services, but there are 4,000 or 5,000 men, under a daroga, trained to the duty of gunners, and these are distributed with the ordnance throughout the regular army. The costume of the regular infantry is scarlet, with different coloured facings, to distinguish regiments, as in the British service. The trousers are of blue linen; the head-dress is a blue turban, with one end loose, and spread so as to entirely cover the head, back of the neck, and shoulders; the belts are of black leather; the arms a musket and bayonet, the manufacture of Lahore. The cavalry wear helmets or steel caps, round which shawls or scarfs are folded. The *irregulars*, in their dress and appointments, fully justify the appellation which their habits and mode of making war obtained for them. Cotton, silk, or broad cloth tunics of various colours, with the addition of shawls, cloaks, breast-plates, or coats of mail, with turbans or helmets, *ad libitum*, impart to them a motley but picturesque appearance. They are all badly mounted, and, indeed, little can be said even of the regular cavalry in this respect. The Punjaub breed of horses is far from good, and they do not import stock from other coun-

tries to improve their own cattle. The pay of the sepoys of the regular army of the Punjaub is higher than that of the same class in the army of the East India Company, each common soldier receiving ten rupees per mensem. The troops of the irregulars receive twenty-five rupees each, out of which they provide their arms and clothing, and feed their horse, putting the government to no other expense whatever for their services.

Enlistment in the regular army of the Punjaub is quite voluntary, and the service is so popular that the army could upon an emergency be increased to almost any amount. The soldiery are exceedingly apt in acquiring a knowledge of their military duties; but they are so averse to control that instances of insubordination are common; latterly, indeed, open mutiny has frequently characterized the relations of officer and soldier. Insubordination is punished—when punishment is practicable—with confinement, loss of pay, or extra duty. But in the present state of military disorganization no means of chastising rebellion are available.

No pensions were, or are, assigned to the soldiery for long service, nor is there any provision for the widows and families of those who die, or are killed in the service of the state. Promotions, instead of being the right of the good soldier in order of seniority, or the reward

of merit in the various grades, is frequently effected by bribery. In the higher ranks, advancement is obtained by the judicious application of *douceurs* to the palm of the favourites at court, or the military chieftains about the person of the sovereign. In the event of the government of the Punjaub falling into the hands of the British, some time would probably elapse before the dissolute rabble which now composes the army could be brought under a state of as perfect discipline as that which exists in the Anglo-Indian army; but there is no doubt that ultimately the result of a system, strict and severe from the commencement, when supported by a stern and absolute monarchy, would display itself, and render the Sikh troops as devoted a body as the regular native army of Hindostan. Only twenty-four years have elapsed since the military force in the Punjaub consisted of a large and undisciplined horde. In 1822, the first European officers presented themselves (according to Prinsep) at Runjeet Singh's Durbar, seeking military service and entertainment. These were Messrs. Allard and Ventura, who had served in the French army until the annihilation of Napoleon Buonaparte deprived them of employment. At first, Runjeet Singh, with the suspicion common to a native Indian prince, received them coldly;

and his distrust of their purposes was heightened by the Punjaubee chieftains, who were naturally jealous of the introduction of Europeans into the military service; but a submissive and judicious letter from these officers removed the apprehensions of the Maharajah, and he, with the spirit and originality of a man of genius, admitted them into his service; appointing them instructors of his troops in the European system of drill and warfare. The good conduct and wise management of these gentlemen speedily removed Runjeet Singh's prejudices against Europeans; and the door to employment being thrown open, several military men entered the service of the Maharajah, and at the close of his reign there were not less than a dozen receiving his pay, and, to use an Indian expression, "eating his salt." The successors of Runjeet Singh, however, did not look with an eye of favour upon men who were not to be bought, and whose sense of personal dignity revolted at the treatment to which the unbridled Sikh chieftains were inclined to subject them. The greater part accordingly resigned their commissions; some of them retiring with ample fortunes, and others seeking honourable employment elsewhere.

The Sikh army was considered by many British officers, who had the opportunity of seeing it some time before the recent operations,

to have been in a fair state of discipline, as far as regards their execution of field evolutions. They form very correct lines, but in manœuvring their movements are too slow, and they would, in consequence, be in danger, from a body of British cavalry, of being successfully charged during a change of position. They would also run the risk of having their flanks turned by their inability to follow the motion of an European enemy with equal rapidity. The late engagements have forcibly illustrated this truth.

The arms, that is to say, the muskets, are of very inferior stamp, incapable of throwing a ball to any distance, and on quick and repeated discharges liable to burst. Their firing is bad, owing to the very small quantity of practice ammunition allowed by the government; not more than ten balls out of a hundred, at the distance of as many paces, would probably tell upon an enemy's ranks. They still preserve the old system of three ranks, the front one kneeling when firing and then rising to load, a method in action liable to create confusion.

In person, the infantry soldiers are tall and thin, with good features and full beards; their superior height is owing to the extraordinary length of their lower limbs. They are capable of enduring the fatigue of long marches for

several days in succession (the author having on one occasion marched with his regiment a distance of 300 miles within twelve days), and are, generally speaking, so hardy that exposure to oppressive heats or heavy rains has little effect upon them. In a great measure this is the result of custom. Excepting in the vicinity of Lahore and Peshawur, there are few regular quarters or cantonments; the men occupy small tents, or bivouac in ruined Mahomedan mosques or caravanserais.

The drum and fife and bugle are in general use in the Sikh infantry regiments, and in some of the favourite royal corps of Runjeet Singh an attempt was made to introduce a band of music, but a graft of European melody upon Punjaubee discord did not produce, as may be imagined, a very harmonious result.

The cavalry of the Sikh army is very inferior in every respect to the infantry. While the latter are carefully picked from large bodies of candidates for service, the former are composed of men of all sorts and sizes and ages, who get appointed solely through the interest of the different sirdars. They are mean-looking, ill dressed, and, as already stated, wretchedly mounted. Their horse trappings are of leather of the worst quality, and their saddles are of the same miserable material, and badly constructed. When the

horse is in motion, the legs and arms of the rider wave backwards and forwards, right and left, by way, as it were, of keeping time with the pace of the animal bestridden. The horses are small, meagre, and ill shaped, with the aquiline nose which so peculiarly proclaims inferiority of breed. In the field the conduct of the Sikh cavalry has generally corresponded with their appearance and efficiency. They are totally deficient of firmness in the hour of struggle, and only charge the foe when a vast superiority of numerical force gives them a sort of warranty of success. An anecdote occurs to the writer at this moment, which, as illustrating at once the efficiency of the Sikh troopers and the character of Akbar Khan, who afterwards became so famous in the annals of warfare by his treachery towards the British at Caubul, and by his total overthrow by the gallant Sale, will probably be read with interest.

In an engagement at Peshawur, in 1837, between the Affghans and the Sikhs, the former were at the commencement driven off the field into the defiles of the Khyber mountains. The Sikh cavalry, embracing the favourable moment, to the number of three thousand, dashed into the Khyber in pursuit. The favourite son of Dost Mahomed Khan had given battle in direct disobedience to the injunctions of his father, who had prohibited a collision under any circumstances.

Upon witnessing the flight of his troops, together with the loss of some pieces of artillery, in the moment of despair at the consequences he had brought upon himself, turning to his own personal suite, of which about 100 had remained with him, he addressed them briefly on the shame and disgrace which awaited their conduct; and being determined not to survive the disasters of the day, he induced them to make a last effort to retrieve their ill fortune. The Sikhs had now precipitated themselves about two miles into this fatal pass, which allowed but four horsemen to work abreast.

The little band above mentioned, with their leader at their head, resigning themselves to the will of the Comptroller of all Destinies, with their war shout of "Allah Akhbar!" threw themselves headlong on the foremost of their pursuers, who, by the superior weight of their Toorkee chargers, the nervous blows from the vigorous arms of their assailants, and the meteor-like charge, were on the instant overwhelmed and dismounted. The sudden check so unexpectedly sustained threw the Sikhs into confusion; and, being ignorant of the number of their opponents, they wheeled round, and pell-mell rode over their own masses! —the Mahomedan sabre all the time doing its work brilliantly. Upwards of five hundred were left dead and wounded on the field, and the

career of the faithful was only arrested by the bayonets of the Sikh infantry. Here the charger of their brave leader, Akhbar Khan, received three musket balls and three bayonet wounds, and had one of his hind legs shattered by a spent ball. The noble animal fell; and luckily for his rider was it so ordained, for, at the moment he was hurled to the ground, a volley from the whole Sikh infantry emptied every saddle within range of its burden!

It is no more than just, however, to set off the foregoing anecdote by stating that the bravest troops of all nations have, at some time or other, been overthrown by a *coup de main*, and its consequent panic. It might be invidious to particularize the instances, and would certainly be superfluous, for some of them are still fresh in the recollection of the present generation.

But although the Sikh soldier may not claim credit for a greater degree of prowess than other Oriental troops, he possesses some qualities invaluable to the military man. He has the faculty of subsisting upon a very small quantity of food—a faculty peculiarly favourable to the indulgence of his avarice; and he is capable of enduring great fatigue, and of accomplishing marches that none but the Turkoman Tartars can perform. The distance from Lahore to Peshawur is 300 miles, and it has often been done in

eleven days. The Sikhs have, indeed, acquired, from their remarkable pedestrian qualities, the epithet of "iron-legged."

It has been said above that the Sikhs are arrogant and insubordinate; it should be added, that they are less so in the field than in garrison, and it is only reasonable to conclude that even in quarters they would be more tractable were they governed by European officers. Hitherto there has never been at any one time more than twenty Europeans with the entire regular army of seventy thousand men.

In addition to the regular and irregular army, the Lahore government has also in its pay a body of irregular cavalry (to the number of between two and three thousand) called Akalees. They are religious fanatics, who acknowledge no ruler or laws but their own; think nothing of robbery or even murder, should they happen to be in the humour for it—Runjeet Singh himself having on more than one occasion narrowly escaped assassination by them. They are, without any exception, the most insolent and worthless race of people under the sun. They move about constantly armed to the teeth, insulting everybody they meet, particularly Europeans, and it is not an uncommon thing to see them riding about with a drawn sword in each hand, two more in their belt, a matchlock at their back, and three or four quoits

fastened round their turbans. The quoit is an arm peculiar to this race of people. It is a steel ring, varying from six to nine inches in diameter, and about an inch in breadth, very thin, and the edges ground very sharp. They throw it with more force than dexterity; but not so (as alleged) as to be able to lop off a limb at sixty or eighty yards. In general, the bystanders are in greater danger than the object aimed at. Runjeet Singh did much towards reducing this worthless race of people to a state of subjection; but he only partially succeeded, and, latterly, they have become more intolerant than ever. They, however, fight with desperation, and are always employed upon the most dangerous service. In 1815, when the Maharajah's army was investing the city of Mooltan, the Affghans made so protracted and determined a resistance, that Runjeet Singh was induced to offer very advantageous terms compared to what he was in the habit of doing under similar circumstances; and during the progress of the negotiations, an Akalee, named Sadhoo Singh, with a few companions, advanced to the fausse braye, and without orders, in one of their fits of enthusiasm, attacked the Affghans, who were either sleeping or careless on their watch, and killed every man. The Sikh army took advantage of the opportunity; and rushing on, in two hours carried the citadel, Muzuffer Khan and his four

sons being all cut down in the gateway after a gallant defence.

To revert to the subject of civil government. The revenue arising from the land is assessed, in the case of the grain lands, by appraisement or the division of the produce in the field; the former is often settled by collusion between the chief and the party called in to appraise it, and the latter is regulated by the caprice, power, necessity, or despotism of the chiefs; some of whom claim one-half, others two-fifths, and some have been known to appropriate as much as three-fourths of the whole. The lands of most towns and villages are parcelled out amongst the Zemindars, who, as already stated, are answerable for the share of the sovereign. Every chief exercises the privilege, by prescription, of taxing trade; yet the duties, though levied at every ten or twenty miles, are light. To save themselves the trouble of constantly recurring payment, the merchants generally contract for the conveyance of a caravan of their goods from one point of the country to another, the party who takes charge of them paying all duties through the states which they pass; should any chief, however, impose a vexatious tax, the conductor of the caravan has the power of changing the route, and conveying the goods through the possessions of one who has the power to protect, and the inclination to

encourage, the transit of traffic through his domains.*

The revenue is in too many instances collected *vi et armis*, and sometimes falls short of the amount estimated above; for the tribes residing in the vicinity of the mountains, especially those called the Yousuffzyes (who have never been properly and entirely subdued), often succeed in resisting payment by flying to their fastnesses, carrying with them everything of the smallest value, and there defying the pursuit of the soldiery. As a consequence of a frequent deficiency of revenue, arrears and irregularity distinguish the adjustment of the accounts in every department of the state.

The exercise by the chiefs of the office of judge in all civil and criminal cases dispenses with the establishment of regular courts of law. Custom and caprice, therefore, are substituted for the *lex scripta*, and much injustice is necessarily the result. As there is a strong disinclination to inflict capital punishment, crimes and trespasses are generally atoned for by fines, levied according to the means of the offender, whose property is attacked, and his family placed under restraint to enforce payment. The adoption of this mode of chastisement is preferred by the rulers for the

* Murray.

additional very satisfactory reason that the fines form a branch of revenue. But it is not the criminal alone who pays. When the innocence of an arraigned individual deprives the judge of a pretext for lodging a heavy impost, he exacts from the prisoner a present of gratitude called shookurana. In civil cases pecuniary contributions are also levied. The plaintiff, if he carries his point, pays the shookurana, and the defendant is mulcted as a punishment for being in the wrong, and consuming the judge's time. Mutilation is sometimes resorted to—to the extent of cutting off the hands, the nose, or the ears; but even in respect to this kind of penalty, money is found to be efficacious. A tolerable bag full of rupees is often accepted as compensation in full for the retention of a limb or a feature. Highway robbery and burglary are visited by the demand of a sum equivalent to the value of the property taken away; but should opposition be raised by the chief on whom the demand is made, the sirdar, whose subject has suffered, proceeds to retaliate by driving away many head of cattle from the offender's lands.

On the discovery of a petty theft, the sufferer has to pay the fourth of the amount he may have lost to his chief before it is restored to him; and when the robbery has been committed by a body of accomplices, the one who turns king's evidence

is allowed to escape with impunity, and to retain his share of the spoil. In all cases of stolen cattle, the zemindars, when the footsteps are traced to the entrance or into the fields of any village, must either show the track beyond their own boundary and suffer their territory to be searched, or pay the value of the cattle.

As letters are not cultivated among the Sikhs, even to the extent of reading and writing, all concerns are translated by oral testimony, verbal promises and agreements. Questions of right to property coming before the grand arbiters, are determined by the recollection of the eldest witnesses; and though these persons give their testimony on oath, money and favours are so unsparingly distributed to ensure a serviceable statement, that perjury is frequent, and justice a mere mockery. Trial by ordeal is sometimes claimed by an accused party, and its efficiency being implicitly believed, a courageous rascal will often escape the imputation of guilt by thrusting his hand into boiling oil, or bear a heated ploughshare on the soles of his feet.

This is but a rough outline of the system of internal government, but it is all that can be said upon the subject at a time when anarchy is so rife, that rule of any kind is purely nominal. There are of course many usages in force for preserving society together, protecting public

and personal rights, and chastising wrongs, when order is in the ascendant, but as these are the result of a common understanding, and assume the character of by-laws they are reserved to be treated in the ensuing chapter on manners, customs, &c.

CHAPTER VIII.

POPULATION, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS.

No regular census having ever been taken, it is extremely difficult to arrive at even an approximation to the amount of the Sikh population. Burnes computed it at 3,500,000, exclusive of the Kashmirians, Ladakhis, and Bultis (natives of Ladakh and Bulti), who might amount to 1,200,000 more; but native authorities give a much larger estimate, and other European travellers fall below Burnes's computation. This population is composed of a great variety of races and religions; but the bulk may be said to be divided into Hindoos and Mahomedans, the former of whom are in the proportion of three to one of the latter.

The Sikhs or Punjaubees, who form the mass of the regular resident population as distinct from the fluctuating visitors, are a handsome race of men, resembling Hindoos in general, but with a

finer muscular development, and a more robust appearance, arising from the superiority of their climate, and the use of a more generous diet than the people of British India allow themselves. Their costume consists of a jacket and trousers, the latter extending to the ankle, and worn tighter than is customary with other orientals, who keep the leg covered. Turbans sometimes form the head-gear; but shawls and scarfs are more commonly used, because the ends admit of being spread over the neck and shoulders as a protection from the sun. The women wear very wide trousers, with an upper garment not very dissimilar to a frock coat, with the addition of the shawl or scarf in the cold season.

In their diet the Sikhs are extremely simple. Rice and attah, a coarse kind of flour, constitute the staple of their food, to which they add the flesh of fowls, fish, condiments, and spices, milk, vegetables, and fruits. Beef is interdicted, and mutton sparingly used. They are much given, however, to the use of intoxicating liquors, and can resist 'potations, pottle deep,' of a fiery spirit, a very small dose of which would overthrow an Englishman. Runjeet Singh was remarkable for his excesses in this way; and in his latter days jocosely declared, that there was only one British officer who could approach him in the copiousness of his libations to Bacchus. This habit,

added to others of a revolting character, places the Sikh very low in the scale of humanity. The Kashmirian is not a whit better. He is a liar and a juggler; selfish, superstitious, ignorant, dishonest, and false.* The virtues which the Sikhs link to their heavy catalogue of vices, are few in number. Charity to faquirs (religious fanatics) constitutes almost their only good quality, and even this is the result of superstition. Charity is exercised as a part of a religious duty, which is supposed to carry with it ultimate rewards. Offerings of grain and money are deposited in the temples, and each of these edifices has a corps of chilas or licensed beggars attached to it, whose business it is to scour the country, and by importunity to raise funds for the support of the institution and themselves, and the gratis entertainment of travellers and strangers who may halt for a temporary repose. Each village contributes a sum, levied by the chief, to form a fund called the Mulha, which is dispensed to wandering beggars and necessitous strangers. Sometimes small parcels of land are assigned to professional mendicants, who take up their abode upon them, and are reputed to pass their time in craving benedictions upon the head of their liberal donor. Thus it is apparent that no part of the charity of the Punjaubee is the

* Moorcroft.

spontaneous effusion of a kind and liberal overture; but is either dictated by the hope of obtaining beatitude, or by a sense of the duty of a nation, in a political view, to support its poorer classes.

The customs of the Sikhs in respect to successions to property and the possessions of lands, are described with so much fidelity in a paper translated by Captain Murray, once the political agent of the British Government in the Sikh States, that the author will be excused for offering a portion of the paper verbatim, in preference to recording his own crude impressions upon the subject. Continuous field service in isolated districts does not furnish a person with means for the acquisition of knowledge of purely civil usages; and yet a work of this kind would be incomplete without details upon subjects of so much importance.

" The rules of succession to landed property in the Sikh states are arbitrary, and are variously modified in accordance to the usages, the interests, and prejudices of different families, nor is it practicable to reduce the anomalous system to a fixed and leading principle. A distinction obtains in the Canons of Inheritance between the Manjhee and Malwa Sikhs, or Singhs; the former are so termed from the tract situated between the Ravee and Beeah rivers, from which

they originally sprang, migrating thence and extending their conquests through the Punjaub and into the Sirhind province, where, being of a military and predatory character, they soon conquered for themselves a permanent possession. The practice of succession to property, both real and personal, amongst the Manjhee Singhs, is by bhaeebund and choondabund. The first being an equal distribution of all lands, forts, tenements, and moveables, among sons, with, in some instances, an extra or double share to the eldest, termed "khurch sirdaree," assimilating to the double share in the law of Moses. Choondabund is an equal division among mothers for their respective male issue.*

"This practice accords with the Hindoo and Mosaic laws, and acts as a counteractive to the many evils attendant on female rule. If the free will of the widow were consulted, it is scarcely to be doubted she would prefer the possession of power and the charms of liberty, to the alter-

* "This practice of choondabund is agreeable to the Hindoo law. Vyara says, if there be many sons of one man by different mothers, but in equal number and alike by class, a distribution amongst the mothers is approved to Brihaspati. If there be many springs from one, alike in number and in class, but born of rival mothers, partition must be made by them, according to law, by the allotment of shares to the mothers.

"When a Manjhe Singh dies, leaving no male offspring, his brothers, or his nephews, of the full blood, assume the right of

native of sacrificing her claims to her brother-in-law, and taking her station amongst his rival wives. Judging from the masculine disposition, want of modesty, and of delicate feeling, which form the characteristic feature of Sikh females, necessity, and not choice, must have led them to yield to the adoption of an usage, which must often be repugnant to their natures, and disgusting to their thoughts.

"On failure of brothers and nephews, the general practice is equal division of lands and personal effects amongst the surviving widows of Manjhee Singhs. Adoption by the widows is not allowed, and the female line is entirely excluded from the succession, to prevent the estates merging in the possessions of another family. The inconvenience and evil, originating in the prevailing practice amongst the Manjhee families, of successive and minute subdivisions of landed property, aggravated by the system of coparcenary possession, are seen, felt, and ac-

succession, to which the widow or widows become competitors. According to the Shasters (if they may be considered applicable to public property and chiefships), the prior title of the widows is held; but the Sikhs, with a view to avoid an open and direct violation of a known law, have a custom termed kurawa, or chadurdalna, which obtains in every family, with the exception to those of the Bhaees, the oldest surviving brother of the deceased places a white robe over, and the neeth, or ring, in the nose of the widow, which ceremony constitutes her his wife."

knowledged, and the mischief of such a system cannot be too soon remedied.

"Amongst the Malwa Singhs, the rights of primogeniture in the males are respected, and jageers, or grants of land, are assigned for the maintenance of younger sons, by which the many inconveniences, noticed in the practice, or rule established amongst the Manjhee families, are obviated.

"The Malwa Singhs, with exception to the Bhaees, sanction and admit the usage of kurawa, thereby opposing a bar to disputed succession between the brothers, nephews, and the widows of a deceased chief.

"The Bhaees of Khytul, and other places, although they reject the union by kurawa, yet set aside the claims of a widow, in favour of the brothers and nephews of one dying without male issue. The widows of Bhaees receive small jageers (lands) for their support during life.

"The Mahomedan families scattered over the Sikh states, who have been enabled to preserve their existence and the shadow of power, reject the ordinances of their lawgivers, and are guided by rules of their own forming. Were the Mahomedan and Hindoo laws an inheritance, as inculcated by the Shura and Metakshara, to be made the leading principle in succession to landed property, very few, if any, of the many

principalities in India would remain entire, and a common distribution would become universal, to the extinction of great estates, and the annihilation of the chiefs, with their aristocratical influence.

"When the country, overrun by the Sikhs, had been parcelled out into new allotments, the former divisions into districts, as established during the reigns of the Dehlee Emperors, and recorded by the Kanoongoes, or rule-tellers, became void, and much angry litigation arose in respect to the village boundaries and waste lands. The cultivators originated the cause of dispute; and the effect was in most cases an appeal to arms, and an effusion of blood, before the claims of the parties could be heard and decided by a convention of neighbouring Zemindars, selected to draw a line of demarcation, and bound by a solemn oath to act impartially.*

"The litigants made choice of an equal number of moonsifs or arbitrators, in some cases one each, in others two to three each. These committees would prolong their sittings for weeks

* "The oath administered to the person who erects the boundary pillars, if a Hindoo, is the Gunga-Jul, or the Chour, or raw hide of the cow, or swearing by his son. If a Mussulman, the Koran, or the placing his hands on his son's head. The Chour, and swearing by his own child, are the most binding."

and months, being all the while fed and paid by the parties, caressed and threatened by their chiefs, their relatives and friends, influenced by party spirit, governed by fear, and little verifying the saying common amongst them of "Punch men Purmêsur." Five different modes of accommodation were in general adoption amongst these Punchayts:—1st. An equal division of the land in dispute. 2nd. The Punchayt selected the oldest and most respectable member of their committee to define the limit, the others consenting to abide by his award. 3rd. A moiety of the line of demarcation was drawn by the arbiters of the one party, and the remaining portion by those of the other. 4th. The Punchayt referred the final adjustment to an old inhabitant of a neighbouring village, upon whose local knowledge and experience they placed more reliance than on their own limited information. 5th. It sometimes occurred to the Punchayt to leave the division in the hands of one of the disputants, whose probity and reputation were established in the vicinity. Village boundary disputes, attended with aggravating circumstances between the chiefs and cultivators of contiguous and rival states are of daily occurrence, and the right and title to the smallest strip of land is contested with an obstinacy quite disproportioned to its

intrinsic value. Little attention is paid by the chiefs or their subjects to the justice or reasonableness of a case: it is quite sufficient, according to Sikh notions, that a claim be advanced and presented, as something may be obtained, and nothing can be lost by the reference to a Punchayt, which will use its endeavours to please, and harmonize its decision to the wants and wishes of those by whom it has been selected.

"Bloodshed between Zemindars, in a boundary dispute, is sometimes atoned for by giving a nata, or daughter, in marriage to a relative of the deceased, or commuted to the payment of 150 to 200 rupees, or 125 beegahs of land. In general, however, revenge is sought, and the Khoon-buha, or price of blood deemed insufficient satisfaction, particularly when a mother has to lament the loss of a favourite child, or a wife with a family, the bereavement of a husband.

"Claims to islands, in a river flowing between two manors, and to alluvions, are determined by what is called the Kuchmuch, or Kishtee-bunna, which practice or rule assigns the land to the proprietor of the bank, or main, upon which the alluvion is thrown, and from which the water has receded. If the island be formed in the centre of the river, and there be depth of water on each side of it, sufficient for boats to ply, in this case

it becomes the joint property of the chiefs on both banks.

"This custom, which obtains in the Sikh states, with regard to alluvion, is universal, so far as my knowledge in the local laws and usages of India has extended, wherever lands are liable to such accidents by an alteration in the course of rivers. In the case of lands cast by the change of the stream from one side of the river to the other, though one chief gains and another loses, yet it is customary to preserve the rights of the Zemindar, if he consent to cultivate the lands.

"The decided enmity of two chiefs is seldom a bar to an arrangement in which each finds or perceives an advantage to himself, either immediate or prospective: for streams in India are so subject to change, that the land lost one rainy season may be regained in the next, or even in the cold weather, when the river falls and the floods cease.

"The use and abuse of the ancient privilege of the Zemindars in damming up, and turning the course of a stream into artificial pools, or cuts, for the purpose of irrigating the lands in its vicinity, causes disputes and bloodshed; and, after much angry dissension, the result is generally a compromise stipulating for a reciprocal enjoyment of the gifts of nature. In some instances, and in contiguous estates, the parties will

agree to take equal shares of the water, either by the hour, or by the day, or by measurement. In other cases, one will receive two-thirds, and his neighbour one-third only, according to their respective and pressing wants. The land-holders, whose possessions are adjacent to the hills from which end their base, these streams and springs take their rise, require and demand a very large portion of the water for their rice lands, into which it is diverted by numberless water-courses, drawn with great ingenuity by the cultivators into distant and countless parterres. Those who hold land at a distance, and lower down the river, in the more arid district, are querulous that the streams do not flow unobstructed in their natural course, which would give them the unabsorbed portion to irrigate their wheat and barley crops.

"It seems to be a question how far a chief may be justified in entirely obstructing the course of natural streams, and in appropriating the waters to his own exclusive advantage, to the serious detriment and loss of his neighbours, whose rights he may be bound to respect, so far as they have relation to property. On the whole, it appears most just that all should partake, as far as circumstances will admit, of a share in the water of a natural stream or rivulet, and that when the absolute wants of those on the upper

part of the stream have been supplied, the surplus should be again turned into, and permitted to flow in its bed, to satisfy others lower down, whether for irrigation or the consumption of the people and cattle, in the arid districts. The lesser currents do not swell in the hot months, as is the case with the larger rivers, which debouche from the Himalayas, and are fed in warm weather by the liquefaction of the snow: the supply of water in them is hence so scanty as scarcely to administer to the necessities of those near their heads, whilst the distress of others, further down the stream, induces them to become more clamorous as the quantity decreases, and ultimately stops short of them.

"Bunds, or dams, are always constructed, after the rains have ceased, to raise the water to a level with the surface, and to render it applicable to the purposes of irrigation. Were a total prohibition of this beneficial practice to be enacted, large tracts, on many estates, through which streams flow, in deep channels, would become uncultivated; and the villages depopulated, to the serious loss of the proprietors and the ruin of their Zemindars. With the view of relieving the deficiencies experienced from the want of the fluid in the arid districts lower down, a substitute for the dam might be found in a hydraulic wheel of simple construction, to draw

the water to the level, and in places where the banks are comparatively low, it will only be requisite to dig the rool, or cut, for the reception and carriage of the water deeper, and to raise it in the cut by sluice-boards. The charras or leathern bags, in common use at wells, with a relief of bullocks, might also be serviceable in other spots. All these expedients, however, fall very short of the utility and cheapness of the dams when water requires to be conveyed many miles, and every rool is a canal in miniature.

"Nuptial contracts are made in early youth by the parents or nearest of kin, who in too many cases are influenced more by pecuniary and sordid motives than by the welfare of the children. Disagreements are very common relative to betrothments (mungnee), and to breaches of promise of marriage (nata or nisbut), amongst all classes of the inhabitants. In some instances real or imaginary diseases, or bodily defects, will be alleged by one of the contracting parties as a reason why the bargain should be annulled; in others a flaw in the caste; and in most a discovery that the girl had been promised to two, three, or four different families, from all of which the needy parents or guardians had received money, ornaments, or clothes. If both parties be the subjects of one chief, they appear before him, and either he or his officers satisfies them, or refers the

decision to a punchayt of the same class as the disputants. If the complainant and defendant happen to reside in separate jurisdictions, and either of the chiefs persevere in evading a compliance with the rule in such cases, or reject the award of a punchayt, gaha, or self-indemnification, is adopted by the opposite party, and the subjects, property, and cattle of his neighbour are picked up and detained until satisfaction be offered and procured. The other side issues its letters of marque; and this pernicious system is frequently carried to the commission of serious outrage, and to infractions of the public tranquillity. It is not a rare occurrence for a parent or a guardian to be convicted of marrying a girl to one man after her betrothment to another. The chief, or a punchay, in general in such cases gives a verdict that the plaintiff is entitled to a female from the family; and if there be not one, the parents or guardian must find a substitute, or as a dernier expedient, to which the injured party very unwillingly assents, the money he may have expended, or a trifle in excess with interest, is decreed to be restored to him, that he may find a spouse elsewhere.

"Amongst all the Jàt families, and some others of the lower classes in the Punjaub, a custom prevails, on the demise of one brother leaving a widow, for a surviving brother to take his sister-

in-law to wife. The offspring by the connection are legitimate, and entitled to succeed to a share of all the landed and personal property. It is optional with the widow to take either the eldest (Jeth) or the youngest, who is generally preferred and deemed most suitable. Should she determine to relinquish worldly ideas, and to reside chaste in her father-in-law's house, she may adopt this course; but such instances are very rare, particularly in the case of young females, and are not to be looked for in a society and amongst tribes notorious for the laxity of their morals, and for the degeneracy of their conceptions.

"In default of surviving brothers, and in accordance with acknowledged usage, the widow is at the disposal of her father-in-law's family. From the moment she has quitted the paternal roof, she is considered to have been assigned as the property of another, and ceases to have a free will. Where the hymeneal bond is so loosely and irrationally knit, it is not a matter of surprise that the feeble tie and servile obligation which unite the wife to the husband should make but an insecure and heartless impression. Females are daily accused before chiefs and their officers of breaches of conjugal virtue, and of having absconded to evade the claims of a father or mother-in-law, or the established rights of a jeth or a daiwur. When they have fled into the

territory of another chief, it is often difficult to obtain their restitution; but the solicitations of a punchayt, and the more forcible argument of reprisals, are in the end efficacious; and the unfortunate woman, if she do not in a fit of desperation take opium, or cast herself into a well, is necessitated to submit to the law of the land, which she will again violate on the first opportune occasion. Sense of shame or feelings of honour have no place in the breast of a Jât, and the same may be said of men of other low tribes. They will make strenuous exertions for recovery of their wives after they have absconded, and will take them back as often as they can get them, bickering even for the children the woman may have had by her paramour, as some recompense for her temporary absence, and for the expense and trouble they have incurred in the search for her.

"There exists no prohibition against the Suttee. In all cases they are understood to be willing victims, and much real or pretended dissuasion is exercised by the public functionaries, and by friends and relations, to divert the miserable creature from her destructive intentions. That affection and duty have not always place in this class of *felo de se*, which would explain and extenuate such a deed, and convert the offspring of superstition into a noble act of self-devotion, is obvious from the frequency of Suttee, and from

the fact, that it is not only the favoured wife, but a whole host of females, that sometimes are offered up to blaze on the pyre of their deceased lord. In most cases of Suttee, it will generally be observed, that a slow, reluctant promise has been extracted from, or made by, the wretched woman in an unguarded moment, when under the influence of grief. A multitude is immediately assembled round her dwelling and person. Clamour and precipitancy succeed; no time is permitted for reflection: honour, shame, and duty, all now combine to strengthen her bloody resolution—and the scene is hurried through, and closed.

"Debtors and revenue defaulters who abscond, and find protection in a foreign state, are seldom demanded; and if demanded, never surrendered by even the most petty chief. The promise is made, that when the delinquent has the means he shall discharge whatever sum may appear, on a scrutiny into his accounts, to be fairly due by him. It is not uncommon for a deputation, composed of the heads, or of some respectable inhabitants, of a town or village from which a person has removed, to proceed and wait upon the chief with whom a fugitive may find an asylum, and entering into stipulations for his personal safety, to receive him back if he be willing to return."

CHAPTER IX.

THE COURT OF THE SIKH SOVEREIGNS.

Although there is no immediate probability of a restoration of the pomp which distinguished the Sikh court during the reign of Runjeet Singh, so good an idea may be formed of the peculiar usages of a people, their resources and tastes, from the description of the ceremonials observed in the highest places, that the following sketch of the Maharajah's manner of conducting affairs cannot fail to be perused with interest. It was given to the author by the news-writer at the court, since when he has had many opportunities of testing its fidelity. The reader will be struck with the apparent inconsiderate lavishness of the gifts; but it should be borne in mind that in most cases, a corresponding return of presents is made by recipients of the bounty; and, in the instance of English visitors, it not unfrequently happened that the Maharajah was

a gainer by the exchange. The Maharajah alluded to below, is the late Runjeet Singh, whose character is in some measure illustrated by the proceedings.

The Maharajah on his throne (a chair, with silver arms and legs).

An Attendant.—News from Caubul has arrived, your Highness.

The Maharajah.—Bring in the messenger.

A.—He is here, your Highness.

M.—Call the Faquir Uzoozerdeen.

A.—Will you please to come in, Faquir.

M.—Is the letter from the Sirdar Dost Mahomed, or from any one else?

A.—It is from the Sirdar, your Highness.

M.—Well, read what's in it.

Faquir reads.—'To the Maharajah Runjeet Singh, king of Lahore. May your name be great. Twenty loads of fruit, two horses, and a sword, are here for your Highness. Will your Highness deign to accept them?'

Attendant.—Your Highness, Misher is here.

Misher.—What orders, your Highness?

The Maharajah.—Misher, go to Baylee Rham, and desire him to send to Dost Mahomed an elephant with a silver howdah, a Scindian matchlock, a Goozeratee sword, and ten pairs of shawls. Let them be fine, and of different

colours; and Faquir, do you write word and say, that his road and mine are the same, and that he must make some good arrangements by which he may live peaceably, or else the Maharajah intends to march against him after the Dusseerah; and tell him not to say that he was not forewarned.

F.—What your Highness ordered is written.

M.—Very well: send it by the Vakeel.

To resume the dialogue:—

Maharajah.—Call the Rajah Dhyan Singh.

Rajah.—I am here, your Highness.

M.—Rajah, send five of your own orderlies, and write to every place, that a gentleman is coming to Lahore by the Attock road: give him one hundred rupees at every stage, twenty maunds of flour, two maunds of rice, a maund of ghee, fifty fowls, ten pots of milk and curds to wash his hair with, five hundred eggs, firewood, earthen pots, and whatever he may require: let him have a guard at every stage. Rajah, this is your charge.

R.—Truly spoken, your Highness.

M.—Misher, send Fattoo Bhayya to call the Jemidar Kooshiyal Singh.

The Jemidar arrives.

M.—Jemidar, do you also as I have ordered the Rajah, and write to your district, that the

gentleman may not be uncomfortable, and get also his receipts at every stage.

Tell the Commandant, Myan Sooltan Mahomed, and Mirza Manda Alii, to fire eleven rounds from the garrison guns, and twenty-one from the field pieces, an hour before sun-set, when the gentleman arrives. And, Misher, send to Sookraj, and tell him to keep two companies in readiness at Schangur's tomb, as the gentleman's escort; and let the Singh regiment be in readiness outside the Tanksalee gate, to accompany the gentleman to his quarters.

In the meantime the gentleman has arrived.

M.—Misher, tell Kutba to call the ladies [dancers], give them fifty rupees each out of the treasury, and order them to come dressed out.

Let Alii Khan receive five hundred rupees, and tell him to have lamps ready in the Saman Bastion an hour before eight. Let Sattar Gardner be called, and order him to have an entertainment prepared for the gentleman in the Shala Gardens, and tell Baylee Rham to have ready to-morrow, at the Shala Gardens, a pearl necklace, a pair of gold bracelets set with diamonds, an expensive pair of shawls, five hundred rupees for the gentleman's servants, and a present for each of his other men.

Nikka Dewan, call the Moonshee Sarabdhyal.

Moonshee.—I am here, your Highness.

M.—Moonshee, write an order to the Rajah Suchet Singh to march with one thousand cavalry, and two thousand infantry, from Peshawur, and settle the affairs of Bannoo Tank (a rebellious district), and write an order also to Futty Singh Maun, to put himself under the Rajah's orders, and not to disobey any of his commands.

[The Faquir mentioned in one of the above dialogues was one of the most remarkable men at the court of Runjeet Singh. As he was, up to the last accounts, living in the Punjaub, and likely, if his life is preserved, to take an active part in the future affairs of the country, the following account of him, lately published in one of the Calcutta papers, may not be out of place in this work.

"Faquir Uzeez-ood-deen, is a native of a small town, in the territory of the Raja of Pattiala. He took service at a very early period with Runjeet Singh, as his *hukeem* or physician, and as his private secretary He was in truth little more than a barber-surgeon, and report says that he was originally solely professor of the humbler of these two professions. As early as 1809, he was employed confidentially in carrying on negotiations with Sir Charles Metcalfe. This, of course, vitiates Capt. Osborne's estimate of his age. He

must be now upwards of sixty years old. The sketch given of him in Capt. O.'s book is not unlike; though the eye is a little too large, and has too placid an expression. However obscure may be his origin, this remarkable man has played a distinguished part in the affairs of the Punjaub for the last thirty years, adding astrology to his knowledge of quack salving. He is possessed of considerable literary accomplishments, is well read in Persian history and poetry, is a good Arabic scholar, and fond of collecting manuscripts, in which he is said to drive a private trade. The expression of his countenance is remarkably, though not unpleasantly, astucious; his features still handsome; in stature he is short; in figure undignified. He is one of the most agreeable men, when not talking for a *direct* object (his talk is never objectless); he is full of anecdote, and of quaint and pithy sayings, such as the apologues of eastern wisdom abound with; they are, he says, "distiches" and "couplets," but these are frequently like the "old poem" of our great novelist, invented by himself. To give an idea of them, the following favourite saying with him, when upon the eternal subject of man's foresight, as opposed to the predestination of events—

"Council is like the dice; Fate like the mark
Upon the board; it is within your hand;
Yet for all that 'tis not within your hand."

"He was a very able negotiator; insidious beyond measure, and a complete master of the science of humbug. He was the mouthpiece of the stupid Sikh sirdars, and as he almost always formed the head nominally of the missions they were occasionally sent on, he had their free leave to talk, while they sat by and listened in silence and admiration to the voluble flow of his ceaseless harangues. Nightingales of esteem warbled in meadows of attachment, and rivers of devotion rushed into oceans of affliction, &c. &c. His other most important duty was interpreting the Maharajah's words. Few besides the Faquir, Dhyan Singh, Heera Singh, and a few attendants, could readily understand him, so severe had the paralysis of his tongue become latterly. A few inarticulate growlings of the old lion were quite enough to vivify the Faquir's imagination, and so lengthy often was his paraphrase of the Maharajah's verbal text, that one became inclined to wonder with Mons. Jourdain, 'whether one word in Turkish could mean so much?' But the Faquir knew business; he knew as well what words meant as any man that ever took up the profession of a diplomatist. Sometimes, towards the end of an entertainment, the Faquir's task of interpretation became very difficult: the Maharajah, adding the paralysis of strong drink to his natural inclination to indistinctness, used to

become very inarticulate. The Faquir would then 'make shots' at the meaning, and got rebuked sometimes. He was often ashamed to say what he understood well enough, when he would content himself with saying '*Eysh, eysh*' (ecstacy); sometimes driven to total incomprehension, he would say, in his softest diplomatic tones (in Arabic, for the greater secrecy), '*Mafuhimtoo*'—*i.e.* "I did not understand;" he would then be taken seriously ill, and disappear for the evening. He was an extraordinary anomaly, this man: a titular Mussulman Faquir serving the extirpators of his race and the persecutors of his religion, and that faithfully; assisting at their carousals, writing in he name of the Supreme Being as worshipped by them, and yet a bigoted Mussulman for all that. His brother, Noor-ood-deen, was an ingenious person, a good deal trusted and employed by Runjeet about the arsenal and commissariat matters, and even made governor of Govindghur. His sons were also in the service of the state, but none promised to be like the Faquir. He is indeed the last of the ingenious diplomatists of Hindostan, of those men whose skill in the art has been so much and so long belauded. The day for them has gone by; they have done their work, and are gathered to their fathers."]

THE MAHARAJAH IN DURBAR (COUNCIL).

The Maharajah.—Moonshee, write an order to the Dewan Dannoo, and say that the Maharajah has given him the administration of the Guzerat country; order him to accept it, and to pay 5,000 rupees nuzzurana (present) for it.

Moonshee.—Your Highness, the Dewan refuses to accept it.

M.—Just like the rascal; he does not accept it on account of the nuzzurana; take off two thousand.

Moonshee.—Your Highness, the Dewan has agreed.

M.—Do you see the play of the rascal; two thousand rupees having been remitted, he now accepts it.

THE MAHARAJAH IS ILL, WITH A PAIN IN HIS FACE.

An Attendant.—Your Highness, there is a great sayud in the city who cured a bad leg of mine by the touch of his hand.

The Maharajah.—Bring that sayud. Take an elephant, and bring him with all despatch.

(The sayud arrives.)

The Sayud.—Brother, may you be well and carry on your government; may you continue to bluster in the world.

(The sayud applies something to the Maharajah's face.)

M.—Misher, bring five bags of rupees of a hundred each, and lay them at the sayud's feet.

S.—Your Highness will, I hope, give me a sight of yourself to-morrow.

(Sayud makes his salaam and retires.)

A.—Your Highness, there is a holy man who has one of Gooroo Nanac's shoes.

M.—What, has he preserved it since that time? Bring hither that holy man, and take my own elephant for him to come on.

(The holy man arrives; unfolds the shoe from a hundred wrappers; the Maharajah salutes it, and applies it to his eyes, head, and breast.)

M.—Order a perpetual grant to be written of a thousand rupee village, in the province of Vazeerabad, and give it to the holy man.

A.—Your Highness, there is a great pundit (scholar) arrived from Benares, deeply read, who has a lingum of Mahadeo's with him; he says that whatever pain your Highness may have will be cured by applying it; it must, therefore, be a real one.

M.—Misher, saddle an elephant with a silver howdah, and bring the pundit on it directly.

A.—Maharajah, the pundit is a man of queer temper, and will not be thus brought.

M.—Bring him by all means, and take 500 rupees with you from the treasury.

A.—Very well, your Highness.

(The pundit arrives, and takes out the stone; the Maharajah rises, and rubs it on his face.)

M.—Misher, bring 1,000 rupees, and put them at the pundit's feet, and give him also ten rupees a day for his expenses.

Pundit.—I don't want any of your rupees. I have Mahadeo's orders to return to Benares when you are well; don't hold your court for a day or two.

After some days the Maharajah hears that the holy pundit has fallen in love with a dancing girl, and is accordingly an impostor; his only remark is—"these are holy men, and are privileged to do such things if they like."

It is evident from the foregoing dramatic scenes that there was no lack of wealth at the court of the first Maharajah; but no accurate idea can be formed of the extent to which it could be displayed excepting from a perusal of the descriptions of the great meetings which took place between the Ruler of the Punjaub and the Governor-General of India. Several of these interviews distinguished the intercourse of the two powers in later years, each characterized by a greater or lesser degree of pomp. The author selects the following from Stocqueler's *Memorials of Affghanistan*, because it refers to the most superb of

the interviews, and was the last that took place on the banks of the Sutlege:—

"The interview between Lord Auckland and the Maharajah, those two suns of glory, came off on November the 29th [1838], at Ferozepore, realizing in its pomp and glittering variety all the anticipations of the uninitiated. At daybreak, the guard of honour, consisting of a squadron of her Majesty's 16th lancers, a squadron of the 4th light cavalry, the camel battery, a troop of horse artillery, her Majesty's 3rd buffs, the 43rd, 31st, 2nd, and 42nd regiments of native infantry, the body guard, and flank companies of the European regiment, got under arms, and proceeded to form a street, leading to the Durbar tents of the Governor-General, which were enclosed in an extensive area, formed of kunnauts. Soon afterwards Major (now Sir Claude) Wade, Mr. (afterwards Sir) W. H. McNaghten, Mr. J. R. Colvin, Mr. H. Torrens, Sir Willoughby Cotton, and Brigadier Arnold, proceeded (accompanied by a detachment the 4th cavalry, and a number of officers) to the encampment of Runjeet Singh across the river,* to escort his Highness to the Governor-General's camp. And now were seen numerous cavaliers and gentlemen hurrying, some on elephants, some on horse-

* The Maharajah was then encamped with some 20,000 followers, regular and irregular.

back, some on camels, to rendezvous at the Durbar tent, and witness the imposing ceremony of the visit; and it is no exaggeration to say, that this congregation of the gay and gallant was in itself a sight worth travelling a great distance to behold. There were some two or three hundred officers of different regiments off duty, and these, with a great number of staff and general officers, many of whom wore the orders of the Bath, of Hanover, of the Lion and the Sun, and of the Bright Star of the East, presented a picture of military splendour rarely exhibited in India. At about half-past eight o'clock Lord Auckland came into the area, and was received by the flank companies of the European regiment who did duty at the tents with presented arms. About half-past nine the distant clangor of a band of indescribable musicians announced the approach of the Maharajah. Now was mounting in hot haste—down went the assembled elephants to receive the Governor-General, Sir H. Fane, and their cortége—off went horsemen and chobdars, a goodly troop, to precede the procession, and in three minutes the whole body, forming two lines of elephants, marched up the street of regiments to meet the Maharajah.—And now the guns of the camel battery spat forth their salutation, and horses reared, and troops presented arms, and bands struck up our national anthem; Sikhs gal-

loped in and out in wild disorder, and dust arose even to the point of enveloping the proud procession. At the end of the street (so happily was the whole thing timed and arranged) the Maharajah appeared in the centre of a line of elephants, and met the Governor-General and his gorgeous suite just as his lordship had reached its termination. The Maharajah, simply clothed in a red tunic and trousers, and a turban of the same description, without one single trinket to adorn a person, which, not to speak profanely, would be very little the better or the worse of such adorning: the Maharajah, be it known, was now received into Lord Auckland's howdah, and the whole pageant wheeled about to proceed to the Durbar. To describe the rush that was made to reach the audience tent, and secure a good position while the formal interview took place, is utterly beyond the compass of the feeble historian. As the time advanced, Sikh chieftains, all clinquant, all in gold, or clothed in every diversity of colour, and every imaginable variety of picturesque costume, armed to the teeth with spear, sabre, shield, and lighted matchlock,—scrambled onwards, competing with the British red coats for a peep at the tumasha. Arrived at the tents, which were already nearly crammed to suffocation, the Maharajah (giving precedence to Lord Auckland) alighted, and leaning upon the

arm of his lordship and Sir Henry Fane, made his way into the tent. But such was the density of the mob of militaries and uncouth Punjaubees, composing Runjeet's guard of honour, and so utterly dark was the whole apartment, from the crowd that blocked up the entrance, that it was with the greatest difficulty his highness reached one of the couches to the right of the tent, where the Miss Edens, with Mrs. Churchill, Mrs. (afterward Lady) Sale, Mrs. (afterwards Lady) W. H. McNaghten, and several other ladies sat to receive him. Indeed, if he had not had the luck to be helped through by the good stout arm of stalwart Fane, who is accustomed to force passages, it is doubtful if the Maharajah could have reached the couch at all. Here Major Wade came up, and did dragoman for Lord Auckland and the ladies for a few minutes. After this, the Governor-General, aided as before by Sir Henry, took the Maharajah into an inner tent, where chairs of state were arranged, and the δι πολλοι excluded. About thirty gentlemen, and the ladies alone, with Runjeet's prime minister his son, and some of the principal sirdars, were permitted to assist at this part of the business; and the more effectually to preserve this exclusiveness, the companies of the European regiment were called in and with a few troopers of the body-guard formed a lane for the passage of the

party to and fro. Within this tent the portable presents were produced, and exhibited a goodly selection from the choicest articles to be found in the boutiques of the gunsmiths and jewellers of Calcutta. But the gift of gifts was a full length portrait of our gracious Queen, painted by Miss Eden for the occasion, and encompassed by a fitting frame of solid gold and jewelled cornices. On receiving this present, which was brought in by Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton (while the camel battery fired a salute), the Maharajah, through Major Wade's interpretation, signified his intention to hang it up in his tent, and fire a salute in its honour. A good deal of edifying conversation now passed between the Governor-General and his royal visitor.

"When all had been said that it was thought requisite to say upon the occasion, the Maharajah, escorted as before, proceeded to another tent, to see the howitzers, the caparisoned elephants, and the magnificent horses which had been prepared for his acceptance; the howitzers were extolled, the elephants praised, and the horses admired though his Highness's taste, in the latter article, differs from that of the English, inasmuch as he was most taken with that which our countrymen deemed the least entitled to approbation.

"The interview and its attendant ceremonies having now ceased, the Maharajah was attended

to his elephant, which he duly mounted, and amidst compliments, hurrahs, the discharge of cannon, and the discourse of hauthoys, returned to the place from whence he came, preceded and followed, as before, by a horde of retainers, and accompanied by Sir W. Cotton and some political officers. The troops were then marched off the ground, and the crowds of spectators returned at midday to their homes and their breakfast.

"SECOND DAY.

"*November* 30*th*.—This day was devoted to a return of the visit attempted to be described above; and most truly may it be said that to-day was the master of yesterday. The Sikhs fairly 'shone down the English.'

"At break of day, the 16th lancers and the 2nd cavalry sprung into their saddles, and went ahead, under the command of Colonel Arnold, to occupy the opposite or right bank of the Sutlege, at the foot of the bridge of boats, and await the coming of the Governor-General. His Lordship was not long in his preparations for a start. Before sun-rise, the body guard were paraded outside the enclosure, and very soon afterwards, Lord Auckland, with his Secretariat, Sir W. Casement, Sir W. Cotton, Colonel Skinner, Major Wade, and several staff officers and brigadiers, to the number of about thirty,

left the tents as before, on elephants, in two close columns, the movement being announced by a salute from the guns of the horse artillery attached to the escort. Scarcely any regimental officer was permitted to accompany the procession, as the apprehension of a crush had induced the Maharajah to limit his invitation to some fifty or sixty gentlemen of the highest rank, or immediately about the person of the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief.

"When the procession had gone a few hundred yards, a deputation, consisting of Shere Singh, the Maharajah's second son, and Dhyan Singh, his prime minister, with several other rajahs and sirdars, similarly amounted, and escorted by some two or three hundred irregular cavalry, and a company of regular infantry, met his Lordship, and turned about to accompany him to the camp of the Maharajah. The march, over a space of about three miles, now became extremely picturesque and interesting. The pace of the elephants kept the horde of Sikhs at a hard gallop, thereby affording them an excellent opportunity of displaying to advantage their equitation and martial bearing.

"The costume of the cavaliers was of course of a very motley complexion, and their arms, appointments, horses, and equipments, were not, perhaps, of an order to challenge close inspection, but the

tout ensemble of the pageant was so extremely unlike anything that one sees anywhere else; there was such a pleasant dash of poetry and romance in the congregation of daring horsemen, bearing lance, targe, and matchlock, and floating in all varieties of colours and diversities of uniforms, that criticism was entirely disarmed.

"On reaching the bridge of boats, the party proceeded across the Sutlege singly, as there was no room for two elephants abreast. At the opposite side, the Governor-General was met by Sir Henry Fane, Generals Torrens and Churchill, and the rest of the staff and visitors from his Excellency's camp. These joined the first body of elephants, and the whole then moved forward up a spacious street, formed by her Majesty's 16th lancers, and the 2nd light cavalry. The appearance of the lancers under arms was beyond all praise: they presented a spectacle which no Englishman could contemplate without some degree of pride. At the extremity of the street in question, the Governor-General and his cortége came up on a small winding stream, over which a sort of road had been constructed of rushes, earth, and planks; and beyond this, his Lordship entered upon an avenue formed by some thousands of the picked troops of the Maharajah. Proceeding up the avenue, two lines of camel artillery (Zumboors), stretching to

the right and left of a rising ground, fired an irregular salute, while the allée of regular cavalry flourished trumpets and kettle-drums, and presented arms. On went the pageant, while every step unfolded to the view some fresh spectacle on which the eye might rest with pleasure. After passing two regiments, a discharge of distant artillery announced that the Maharajah had left his tents, and in a few minutes afterwards his highness might be seen coming down to meet his noble visitors in all the pomp and circumstance peculiar to an oriental procession.

"The scene which now presented itself is utterly beyond description. All that the imagination can conceive of human grandeur—all that the most exuberant fancy can devise in its endeavour to portray the acmé of royal splendour—was here embodied forth. Adown the avenue, formed by the serried ranks of hundreds of steady horsemen, whose steel casques and gay appointments glittered in the sun, moved two masses of elephants, bearing on their lofty backs the mightiest potentates of the Orient, seated in their gorgeous howdahs, and attended by the chief officers of their respective courts, sumptuously attired. Beyond were seen columns upon columns of scarlet-clad and helmeted troops, 'all furnished, all in arms,' arrayed with a pre-

cision, and preserving a steadiness, worthy of the best European discipline, while behind and about their ranks, stretching to the east and to the west, was an extensive encampment, in the centre of which were numerous tents of crimson and gold, indicating the chosen abode of a powerful military chieftain. Crowded together, at viewing distance from the legions, thousands of spectators of the humblest classes stood in ranks, preserving a silence, a decorum, and an immobility, which proved the existence of a severe military discipline even in the walks of civil life. No shouts rent the air, save the licensed clamours of some rude faquir: no vociferous cheers manifested the exuberant joyousness of a happy population. The admiration of the people,—if admiration it were,—was only depicted in their silent awe and breathless astonishment, or kept in check by the apprehension of high displeasure. Not many minutes elapsed before the transient view, here attempted to be described, was interrupted by the rencontre of the two stately processions. It was not difficult to distinguish the Maharajah from his proud and gallant sirdars. Seated on a ponderous elephant in the centre of the line, and habited, as on the day before, in his dark crimson shawl, cloth tunic, trousers, and turban, without any tinsel or trinkets; in short, without any other relief to the

uniformity of his exterior than that presented by a flowing white beard, the sagacious old man came out in strong contrast with his richly clad attendants and chieftains. On closing with the Governor-General, the Maharajah saluted his Lordship, and received him into his howdah, upon which the cannon again 'spoke to the trumpet,' and the columns of elephants, now united, proceeded to the Durbar tents. The arrival at their destination was the signal for another salute from the batteries of Runjeet's horse artillery, while bands of music, uncommonly well trained, played our national anthem, and loud clarions proclaimed the glory of the Maharajah. The tents were enclosed within a vast area of crimson cloth walls, about nine feet high, and decorated with yellow lace. Within the enclosure, in well arranged ranks, forming numerous allées and guards of honour, stood some two or three thousand of the household troops of the Maharajah, clad for the most part in crimson silk or elegant Kincaub, and armed with highly polished matchlocks and shields. The most perfect order, the most profound silence, prevailed, broken only by the royal band (formerly in the service of the Begum Sumroo), and the murmurs of approbation proceeding from European lips. Alighting within this splendid enclosure, the Maharajah conducted Lord Auck-

and, the commander-in-chief, and their suite to the Durbar tent, which consisted of a splendidly carpeted floor, provided with numerous gold and silver chairs, and covered in by a spacious someana, lined with shawl cloth, placed in front of the Maharajah's principal pavilion. Here the whole assembly took their seats, and the ceremony of the introductions took place: Major Wade and Mr. W. H. McNaghten, who sat on Lord Auckland's right, acting as interpreter on behalf of the English visitors. As the British officers were severally introduced to Runjeet Singh, he addressed a few words to them, and rallied Colonel Skinner upon their old acquaintanceship. The principal sirdars then presented themselves, and severally did homage to their chief, receiving a few complimentary salaams, and now and then an expression of good will. When the presentations were over, a band of nautch girls, bedizened with jewellery, and beautified after their fashion with missee, silver dust, &c., were called in, and formed a little circle, while the most celebrated bayadéres treated the company to a few of those singular movements which here pass for dancing. The shawls, trinkets, cloths, &c., which constituted the presents on these occasions, were now brought in, exhibited, and then appropriated by the officers of the Governor-General's suite after the ordinary system. The

horses, &c., were then inspected, and here terminated the ceremonials of the meeting on the modern 'Field of the Cloth of Gold.' Some little time was passed in visiting the different tents, inspecting the furniture, and other paraphernalia, and conversing with the chief sirdars; and the Governor-General then offered his adieux to the Maharajah, resumed his seat in the howdah, and departed in the order of his coming; the horse artillery, as before, honouring the event by a royal salute."

CHAPTER X.

THE RELIGION OF THE SIKHS.

The Sikh religion does not boast of a very high antiquity. Previous to the close of the fifteenth century, the whole of the people inhabiting the Punjaub were either followers of Hindooism, devoutly believing in the mythology which, to the present moment, is held in reverence by the millions spread over British India, or disciples of Mahomed from conviction, or the proselyting influence of Persian and Affghan conquerors. But in the early part of the eighteenth century arose one of those remarkable men who, in all ages and countries, have been destined by the simplest means—the mere effort of *mind*—to effect a complete reform in the principles and practices of religious faith. Nanac Shah, the son of a salt merchant in a very small way of business, and from his childhood a devout Hindoo, became at a very early age strongly imbued

with a sense of the virtue of charity, and did not scruple, when launched into a commercial life, to apply the capital with which he had been provided, to relief of wandering faquirs. He was then sent to attend upon cattle in the fields, but this did not prevent his practising austerities, and leading a life of such remarkable purity that people of rank did homage to him, and urged his father to put him again into business. It was however, all in vain. Nothing could conquer his utter disreg rd of worldly goods. He gave to the poor all what he earned, and at length formally renounced secular occupations and became a faquir, wandering over India and teaching the doctrines which his reflective mind, and possibly a share of that inspiration which we believe to have animated other great reformers, satisfied him had their foundations in truth. The unity and omnipresence of God were the tenets he enforced; and the immediate object which his teaching professed to have was to reconcile the conflicting faiths of the Hindoo and the Mahomedan. An enemy of discord, he treated the convictions of others with gr at deference, though he firmly maintained that hey were founded in error; and coupling this course of teaching with an extremely simple and devout manner of life, he neither created cabals among the people whom he visited, nor raised up personal enemies

and persecutors. The result was a very extensive conversion of his countrymen from the Brahminical and Mahomedan religions to a belief in pure deism. The new disciples of NANAC called themselves *Sikhs*—a term derived from the Sanscrit, and applicable to the followers of any particular teacher. It has remained with the people to this moment. At length, after a few years spent in pilgrimages and peregrinations even to Mecca and Medinah, NANAC committed his views and opinions to paper, producing a book of instructions to his followers which was multiplied by the agency of the Pundits, who, before the printing press found its way to India, subsisted by transcribing sacred works. NÁNAC's last journey was from Moolton to Kinterpore on the banks of Ravee, where he died, after giving proofs of Divine confidence by the performance of what the people supposed to be miracles. NANAC was succeeded in the office of teacher of the new doctrines by a low caste man, named Lehara, who had long been his most faithful and attached servant and disciple, and to whom he bequeathed his mantle and the title or name of ARGAD. ARGAD lived but a short time, and was in like manner succeeded by a menial of the name of AMERA DOS. Both of these men advanced the interests of the Sikh religion by their piety and austerities, and were further aided in the work of

proselytism by sundry fortunate accidents, which impressed the people with a confidence in their enjoyment of the immediate patronage of the Almighty.

AMERA DOS dying at Umritzur, his son RAM DOS assumed the office of teacher of the tenets of NANAC, and continued to fulfil its duties until the day of his death. He was succeeded by his son ARJUNMAL, who improved upon the work of the great founder of the religion, and compiled a volume called the *Grant'h*, or book, which thenceforth became the Bible or sacred guide of the people of the Punjaub. But ARJUNMAL made enemies in the preparation of this work. Refusing to admit the writings of a furious Hindoo zealot into the *Grant'h*, on the ground of their inconsistency with the pure doctrines he considered himself bound to inculcate, a plot was formed to procure his arrest and imprisonment, which terminated in his death or assassination.

Hitherto the progress of the Sikh religion had been one of peace; it was now to be maintained, if not disseminated, by fire and sword. The Sikhs, incensed at the treatment of ARJUNMAL, took arms under his son HAR GOVIND, and made war upon the Mahomedan rulers of the Punjaub. The strife was bitter as long as it lasted, and laid the seeds of the irreconcilable hatred which to this hour subsists between the Sikhs and the

Mussulmans. Har Govind's successors, down to the time of Guru Govind, were continually involved in contests with the rulers of the Punjaub, and at length quarrelled among themselves, for secular purposes had now mingled with holy objects, and the thirst for territorial power ultimately took precedence of the protection and dissemination of the religion taught by Nanac as the motive for a resort to hostilities. From the time of Guru Govind, the struggles of the Sikhs to re-establish themselves as a separate nation engaged their attention, and as these matters have been treated of in the second chapter of this little work they need not be referred to here. Guru Govind, however, did not suffer his duties as a leader of armed hosts to prevent his course of teaching. He continually made additions to the *Adi-Grant'h*, or first *Grant'h*, upon the precepts of which the Sikh religion is now founded. These precepts may be thus stated :—

There is no God but one God. "A hundred thousand of Mahomets, a million of Brahmas, Vishnus, and a hundred thousand Ramas stand at the gate of the Most High. These all perish. God alone is immortal."

God made all men alike. He created no distinctions of caste; therefore all such divisions are offensive to the Most High.

The worship of idols is offensive to the Supreme Power; therefore all ceremonies in which such false worship is encouraged are forbidden.

"Really good men," according to Nanac, "will enjoy paradise; those who have no claim to the name of good, and yet are not bad, shall undergo another probation by revisiting the world in the human form; and the bad will animate the bodies of animals."

[Some portions of the sacred work discard this idea of the metempsychosis, and following the New Testament and the Koran, hold out promise of immortality—a future heaven, or a future hell.]

To eat of the flesh of cows is offensive to the Almighty.

Charity to the poor, and most especially to those who devote themselves to a holy life, is acceptable to the Most High.

It is lawful to bear arms in defence of the Khalsa or Sikh commonwealth, and neither to lament the loss of life nor of property in the maintenance of the cause of religion.

It is lawful to encourage proselytism and to admit as disciples of the Sikh religion those who sincerely abjure the errors of their ancient faith.

These are the leading principles of the religion of the Sikhs; but there are of course various pro-

visions for the innumerable offences to which frail humanity is liable. The assumption of irresponsible power by Runjeet Singh destroyed, in some degree, the potency of the Khalsa, but as it still regulates the admission of converts, the following sketch of the conditions of conversion, as given by Sir John Malcolm, remains in full force to the prosent moment:—

"The *Sikh* converts continue, after they have quitted their original religion, all those civil usages and customs of the tribes to which they belonged, that they can practise without infringing the tenets of NANAC, or the institution of GURU GOVIND. They are most particular with regard to their intermarriages; and on this point *Sikhs* descended from *Hindoos* almost invariably conform to *Hindoo* customs, every tribe intermarrying within itself. The *Hindoo* usage regarding diet is also held equally sacred; no *Sikh* descended from a *Hindoo* family ever violating it, except upon particular occasions, such as a Gúrú-matá, when they were obliged, by their tenets and institutions, to eat promiscuously. The strict observance of these usages has enabled many of the *Sikhs*, particularly of the *Jat* and *Gujar* tribes, which include almost all those settled to the south of the *Sutlege*, to preserve an intimate intercourse with their original tribes, who, considering the *Sikhs* not as

having lost caste, but as *Hindoos* that have joined a political association, which obliges them to conform to general rules established for its preservation, neither refuse to intermarry nor to eat with them.

"The higher caste of *Hindoos*, such as *Brahmins Cshatriyas*, who have become *Sikhs*, continue to intermarry with converts of their own tribes, but not with *Hindoos* of the caste they have abandoned, as they are polluted by eating animal food, all kinds of which are lawful to *Sikhs*, except the cow, which it is held sacrilege to slay. NANAC, whose object was to conciliate the Mahomedans to the creed, prohibited hog's flesh also, but it was introduced by his successors, as much, perhaps, from a spirit of revenge against the Moslems, as from considerations of indulgence to the numerous converts of the *Jat* and *Gujar* tribe, among whom wild hog is a favourite species of food.

"The Mahomedans who become *Sikhs* intermarry with each other, but are allowed to preserve none of their usages, being obliged to eat hog's flesh, and abstain from circumcision.

"The *Sikhs* are forbid the use of tobacco, but allowed to indulge in spirituous liquors, which they almost all drink to excess, and it is rare to see a *Sikh* soldier after sunset quite sober. Their drink is an ardent spirit made in the *Punjaub*,

but they have no objections to either the wine or spirits of Europe when they can obtain them.

"The use of opium to intoxicate is very common with the *Sikhs*, as with most of the military tribes of India. They also take B'hang, another inebriating drug.

"The conduct of the *Sikhs* to their women differs in no material respect from that of the tribes of *Hindoos* or Mahomedans from whom they are descended; their moral character with regard to women, and, indeed, in most other points, may, from the freedom of their habits generally, be considered as much more lax than that of their ancestors, who lived under the restraint of severe restrictions, and whose fear of excommunication from their caste at least obliged them to cover their sins with the veil of decency. This the emancipated *Sikhs* despise; and there is hardly an infamy which this debauched and dissolute race are not accused, and I believe with justice, of committing in the most open and shameful manner."

In sketching the history of NANAC, the founder of the Sikh religion, allusion has been made to his assumption of the character of a Faquir, and his performance, in that character, of certain miracles. Where ignorance prevails, credulity is easily excited and imposed upon, and as nothing

is so calculated to inspire a barbarous people with respect as the performance of deeds beyond their comprehension, the Faquir who, by abstinence and mortification, acquires wonderful control over the physical powers, is enabled without difficulty to give them exaggerated notions of his supernatural gifts.

For example:— A circumstance occurred at Lahore towards the close of Runjeet Singh's life of so extraordinary a nature that the writer of these pages almost doubts if he should offer the details to his readers as authentic, and yet so wide spread and so strong is the belief in their truth entertained by many Englishmen, that the story has been told in another form by a British officer, who was never considered remarkable for his reliance upon native representations. A Faquir presented himself at the court of the Maharajah, and offered for a reward to allow himself to be buried alive for any indefinite period. The Maharajah, supposing the man demented, refused to permit the experiment; but, wearied out by the importunities of his courtiers and the man's pertinacity, at length gave a reluctant consent. After ten or twelve days' preparation, the Faquir gave notice of his readiness to undergo the trial. Accordingly, in the presence of the whole court, after placing himself in a sitting posture, he was covered over and sewn up in cere-cloth, somewhat

after the manner of an Egyptian mummy, and placed inside a large wooden case, which was strongly riveted down, and the Maharajah's own seal put upon several parts; the case was then lowered down into a brick vault, previously made for the purpose, and the whole covered with earth, after the manner of an ordinary grave. Corn was then sown in the earth, which sprang up during the period of his interment; an entire battalion was placed in charge, four sentries mounting guard over it during the day, and eight in the night. At the expiration of forty days he was disinterred, the whole court as before present, everything found in precisely the same state, and on the case being opened the Faquir discovered in the same sitting posture, apparently lifeless; he was speedily extricated from his covering, and, pursuant to the instructions given, hot bread applied to his head and feet, also his body bathed with hot water; after a couple of hours, incredible as it must appear to every rational person, the Faquir not only gave symptoms of returning life, but in the course of the day, though very feeble, he was perfectly restored. The author repeats, that, not having been actually present, he does not vouch for the truth of this extraordinary circumstance, but he has been assured of its truth by so many persons who were attached to the court, that he can only leave it to

his readers to form their own conclusions upon the matter. Similar experiments, moreover, were made upon the same individual by two officers in the Bengal army, and with a like result. The Faquir stated that the secret was not confined to himself alone, that any person could qualify himself for the performance of it, and in an article which appeared in the *Asiatic Journal* shortly after, in allusion to this circumstance, it was stated that the art of prolonging life to an incredible degree without air or nourishment was not unknown to the ancients. The Faquir, not considering himself sufficiently remunerated for his performance, left Lahore, or the author would certainly have tested his powers more convincingly to himself.

It was remarked that during the interment of the Faquir neither his hair nor nails had grown.

Leaving the reader in the state of astonishment which the perusal of this incident cannot fail to excite, the author lays down the pen.

APPENDIX.

As, in the event of a rupture with the present *rulers* (if the word may be used) of the Punjaub, a violation of treaties will probably form the basis and justification of the quarrel, the republication of the following history of the British connection with Runjeet Singh, and of the various compacts entered into with him, may not be considered inopportune:—

It was in 1805, that our first connection with Runjeet arose, and it was in the following way:—"After the Dusserah of 1805, the Sikh army was led by Runjeet Singh into the Mahomedan Territory between the Chunab and the Indus, and the chief of a tract called Jungh was called upon to settle for an annual tribute of 120,000 rupees. Before, however, this negotiation could be brought to a conclusion, Runjeet Singh was recalled by intelligence of the near approach of Juswant Rao Holkar and Ameer Khan from the east, pursued by the British army under Lord Lake. Futteh Singh Aloowala was accordingly left to make arrangements with the chiefs of the west, and Runjeet, hastening back in person to Umritzur, met there the fugitive Mahratta, with whom he had no easy part to play. Juswant Rao threatened to continue his flight westwards towards the Cabool dominions. Lord Lake, however, had arrived on the Bean or Beas, and was prepared to follow, and it was neither con-

venient nor wise to permit operations of the kind that must ensue to be carried on in the Punjaub. On the other hand, Runjeet Singh, though he would have proved an useful auxiliary to either party, was sensible of his inability to offer open resistance. In this state of things, the relations he maintained with Juswant Rao Holkar were friendly but not encouraging, and that chief, being disappointed in the hope of raising the Sikh nation to a co-operation in hostility with him against the British, yielded to the difficulties by which he was surrounded, and made his terms with Lord Lake in a treaty concluded on the 24th December, 1805. Friendly engagements were further exchanged by the British commander with Runjeet Singh and the Aloowala Sirdar; and, in the course of January, 1806, the two armies which had inspired so much alarm in the Punjaub, returned to Hindostan.

In 1808, the alarm of an invasion of India being meditated by the French emperor, Napoleon Buonaparte, becoming rife, Lord Minto determined to send missions to ascertain the condition of the countries intervening, and the feeling of the rulers, chiefs, and people. The growing power of Runjeet Singh, whose authority was now completely established in the Punjaub, made it essential to include his court, and the collision threatened by the recent proceedings and known designs of Runjeet, east of the Sutlege, formed an additional motive for deputing a British agent to Lahore. Mr. (now Lord) Metcalfe was the negotiator selected on this occasion, and the announcement of the intended deputation was received by Runjeet Singh, while the Jheend and Kythul chiefs were in attendance on him. To them the contents of the despatch were communicated, and the matter formed the subject of much anxious conference and deliberation. It was determined to receive Mr. Metcalfe at Kasoor, whither Runjeet marched for the purpose in September 1808. On the envoy's arrival, he was received with the usual attention, but had scarcely found the opportunity to enter on the subjects proposed for discussion with the Sikh chief, when

the latter suddenly broke up his camp from Kasoor, and crossed the Sutlege with his army. Fureed-Kot was immediately occupied by him, and made over to Suda Koonwur in ejection of Goolab Singh, and Runjeet then proceeded against the Mussulman possession of Muler Kotila. The Puthan family holding it was reduced to extremity, and agreed to a large money payment, giving a bond of a lakh of rupees, to which the Puteeala Raja was induced, by the deposit of some strongholds, to be security. Mr. Metcalfe accompanied Runjeet Singh to Fureed-Kot, but refused to countenance any military operations east of the Sutlege. He accordingly remained near that river until his government should determine what to do in the juncture, and addressed in the interval a strong remonstrance against such aggressions, committed to the very face of his proposition to make the matter the subject of discussion and negotiation between the governments. In the mean time Runjeet Singh continued his progress to Umbala, which, with its dependencies, he seized, and made over to the Naba and Kythul chiefs. He then exacted tribute from Shahabad and Thanesur, and returning by Puteeala, made a brotherly exchange of Turbands with the weak Rajah Saheb Singh. After this expedition he again gave Mr. Metcalfe the meeting at Umritzur. The government at Calcutta had in October determined on its course, and the envoy was now instructed to avow that the country between the Sutlege and the Jumna was under British protection, and although that government had no design to require the surrender of possessions occupied before its interposition, it must insist on the restoration of all that had been seized during the late expedition of Runjeet Singh. To enforce this demand, and support the negotiation, a body of troops was advanced to the frontier under Colonel, afterwards Sir David, Ochterlony, and an army of reserve was formed and placed under the command of Major-General St. Leger, to be prepared for any extended operations, the activity, and supposed hostile designs of Runjeet Singh might render necessary.

Colonel Ochterlony crossed the Jumna at Booreea on the 16th January, 1809, and as he approached Umbala, Runjeet Singh's detachment left there retired to the Sutlege. Taking *en route* the several places visited by the Sikh army, the British commander reached Loodianah on the Sutlege, and took up a position there on the 18th February following. His march was hailed by the people and chiefs, as affording the promise of future protection and tranquillity, and they vied with one another in the display of their gratitude and satisfaction.

Up to this period Runjeet Singh had maintained in the conferences to which the envoy was admitted, that the Jumna, and not the Sutlege, was the proper boundary of the British possessions, and that in right of his supremacy over the Sikh nation, no less than as Governor of Lahore, he was warranted in asserting feudal superiority over all the chiefs of that nation between those two rivers. The existing independence of Puteeala and the other principalities, had no weight in argument with a chief, whose domination was the right to plunder and usurp, according to the condition of his army, and who aimed only to secure himself this. The arrival of Colonel Ochterlony on the Sutlege, however, opened his eyes to a new fear, which was that, if he longer resisted, offers of protection that might be made to chiefs in the Punjaub, which would effectually curb his ambitious views, and must involve him in collision and, perhaps, hostility, with a power he never thought himself capable of seriously opposing in the field. His resolutions were hastened by an event that occurred in his camp. The Mohurrum, the first and sacred month of the Mahomedans, commenced in 1809, towards the end of February, and the followers of this faith, in the suite of the envoy, prepared to celebrate the deaths of Husun and Hoosein, the two sons of Ulee, with the usual ceremonies. The *Akalees*, or fanatic priests of the Sikhs, took umbrage at this performance of Moslem rites in the Sikh camp, and at Umritzur; and collecting in a body, headed by Phoola Singh, a bigot of

notorious turbulence, they opened a fire of matchlocks, and attacked the envoy's camp. The escort was called out, and though composed of two companies of native infantry and sixteen troopers only, this small body charged and routed their party, after which, the biers were buried with the usual forms. Runjeet himself came up at the close of the fight; and immediately it was over, advanced in person to make apologies to the envoy, expressing his admiration of the discipline and order displayed by the British detachment, and promising his best exertions to prevent any repetition of such disorders. The circumstance made an impression on his mind as to the unfitness of his own troops to cope with those under European discipline, and determined him to secure peace and friendship at the sacrifices demanded.

The British Government were sensible, that having interfered to impose restraints on the ambition of Runjeet Singh, it had little to expect then from his friendship in case of any necessity arising at that time to arm against invasion from the west. Had danger, indeed, from that quarter been more imminent, it would probably have been deemed political to extend our direct influence farther into the Punjaub, in reduction of the power of a chief who showed himself so unfriendly. But by the time arrangements had to be concluded, the apprehension of any necessity of preparation for such an event had worn off, and the only object that remained was, to secure our own frontier, and for the credit of our power to take redress for the offensive aggressions which the Lahore ruler had recently committed east of the Sutlege. Runjeet Singh expressed a strong desire at this time to obtain a written pledge of our pacific and friendly intentions towards himself; and the restoration of the places seized during his late inroad having been obtained from him, a short treaty declaratory of mutual peace and friendship was concluded by the envoy, at Umritzur, on the 25th April, 1809. It was to the following effect:—

(After the usual preamble expressive of the desire for peace, and stating by whom the engagement was settled,)

"*Article the 1st.*—Perpetual friendship shall subsist between the British Government and the State of Lahore: the latter shall be considered with respect to the former, to be on the footing of the most favoured powers, and the British Government will have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Rajah to the northward of the river Sutlege.

"*Article 2nd.*—The Rajah will never maintain in the territory, which he occupies on the left bank of the Sutlege, more troops than are necessary for the internal duties of the territory, nor commit or suffer any encroachment on the possessions or rights of the chiefs in its vicinity.

"*Article 3rd.*—In the event of a violation of any of the preceding articles, or of a departure from the rules of friendship on the part of either State, this treaty shall be considered to be null and void. (The fourth and last article provides for the exchange of ratifications.)

The treaty being concluded, Mr. Metcalfe came away on the 1st May following. All further discussions with Runjeet Singh were then dropped, and it became a principle in all relations with this chief to confine communications, as much as possible, to friendly letters and the exchange of presents, but the British officers on the frontier were instructed to watch the proceedings of Runjeet Singh, and to require instant redress, in case of any infringement of the terms of the treaty, by interference with, or encroachment on, the rights and territories of chiefs and sirdars, east or south of the river Sutlege. The continued prosecution of this course of policy, weaned the chief from all apprehension of danger to his own authority, from the ulterior views for which he long gave us credit.

To turn to the Sikh protection states.—The declarations with which the British force, under Colonel Ochterlony, advanced to the Sutlege, were in strict conformity with the application, made by the chiefs occupying the country between the Indus and Sutlege, through the mission deputed by them to Dehlee, in March, 1808. Protection was pro-

mised, and no demand of tribute or of contribution of any kind made, to defray the charges incurred by the obligation to afford it. The recency of their experience of the rapacity of a Sikh army, and the conviction that there could be no security to themselves, and still less to their families, under a ruler like the chief who had then the ascendant in the Sikh nation, made all the sirdars rejoice that their prayer had been acceded to by the British Government; and the advance of its force to the Sutlege was looked upon in consequence with no jealousy, but as a measure necessary to effect the purpose contemplated.

A treaty having been concluded with Runjeet Singh, it became necessary to fix, somewhat more specifically than had been hitherto done, the relations that were to subsist henceforward between the protecting power and its protected dependants. It was determined to give the desired explanation of the views of the British Government on this subject, by a general proclamation, rather than by the entering into any separate engagement with the numerous chiefs affected by the measure. Accordingly on the 6th May, 1809, an *Italanama*, or general declaration, was circulated to the sirdars, intimating to them as follows:—

First.—That the territories of Sirhind and *Malooa* (the designation assumed by the Sikhs of Puteeala, Naba, Jheend, and Kythul), had been taken under British protection, and Runjeet Singh had bound himself by treaty to exercise in future no interference therein.

Second.—That it was not the intention of the British Government to demand any tribute from the chiefs and sirdars benefiting by this arrangement.

Third.—That the chiefs and sirdars would be permitted to exercise, and were for the future secured in, the rights and authorities they possessed in their respective territories prior to, and at the time of the declaration of protection by the British Government.

Fourth.—That the chiefs and sirdars should be bound to

offer every facility and accommodation to British troops and detachments, employed in securing the protection guaranteed, or for purposes otherwise connected with the general interests of the state, whenever the same might be marched into, or stationed in, their respective territories.

Fifth.—In case of invasion or war, the sirdars were to join the British standard with their followers, whenever called upon.

Sixth.—Merchants conveying articles, the produce of Europe, for the use of the detachments at Loodianah, or of any other British force or detachment, should not be subject to transit duty, but must be protected in their passage through the Sikh country.

Seventh.—In like manner horses for the cavalry, when furnished with passports from competent officers, must be exempt from all tax.

The above declaration being published and circulated, became the charter of rights, to which the chiefs have since looked, and appealed, for the settlement of all questions that have arisen between them and the British Government. The matters specially provided for were those that immediately pressed. There has been much, however, of intricate dispute between rival candidates for sirdarees;—between chiefs who had divided their territory before the declaration of protection was published, and had bound themselves to their co-proprietors by mutual obligations; between chiefs and their dependants of the Sikh nation, as well as Zemindars, as to the extent of right and authority possessed at the time of the declaration of protection; and, perhaps more than all, boundary disputes and quarrels regarding participated rights. These differences, whenever they have arisen, have required adjustment and arbitration by the British officers on the spot, and have formed the subject of continual references to the Supreme Government at Calcutta. The regulation of successions was also a matter, that from he first required to be undertaken by the protecting

authority, and failing heirs of any kind according to Sikh custom and law, the escheat is considered to fall to the protecting state.

Until the year 1812, the duties of protection, and the settlement of these mutual disputes, though giving constant employment to Colonel Ochterlony, the British officer appointed superintendent of Sikh affairs, produced nothing of sufficient moment to require relation. In that year, however, the disorders in Puteeala consequently upon the Rajah's imbecility, produced a crisis that called for an exertion of authoritative interference. The protected territory was invaded by a public depredator for whose punishment and expulsion the Puteeala Rajah was called upon to furnish a quota of horse. This chief holds territory yielding a revenue of more than thirty lakhs of rupees, yet the whole force he could furnish on the occasion consisted only of two hundred horse of the very worst description, and these arrived so late in the field as to be of no use. Colonel Ochterlony, taking with him the chiefs of Jheend and Naba, proceeded to Puteeala to remonstrate with Muha Raja Saheb Singh upon the evidence of inefficiency afforded by this state of things, and it was endeavoured to persuade him to discard the low favourites who ate up his revenues, and prevented those better disposed from carrying on any consistent system of government, and from introducing the desired improvements into the administration. The attempt to procure a change of ministers by persuasion failed, but the Rajah made many professions of a determination to exert himself to effect the desired reforms. Being left again to himself, his conduct became so violent and irregular, as to betray symptoms of an aberration of reason, and the colonel was compelled to proceed again to his capital, in order to allow his outraged subjects and dependants to put things on a better footing, and to prevent the Rajah's removal from power from producing convulsions, or a breach of the general tranquillity. Saheb Singh was now deposed, and placed under limited restraint. Askoor Ranee, his wife,

in association with a shrewd Brahmin minister named Nundee Rao, was appointed regent for the heir-apparent, Kurum Singh, who was then a minor, and affairs were conducted in his name. Maharajah Saheb Singh died a few months after his deposal.

To return to Lahore—Nothing materially altered our relations with the ruler of that state between 1810 and 1830.

On the 17th of July 1831, Lieutenant Burnes reached Lahore, where his arrival with a present from the king of England, and with the letter of Lord Ellenborough which accompanied it, was a source of great pride and rejoicing to Runjeet Singh. The attention he paid to Lieutenant Burnes was very marked, and he invited Captain Wade over from Loodianah, to assist at the ceremonial of reception. From Lahore, Lieutenant Burnes proceeded to Simla, to render to the Governor-General an account of his mission, and to lay before his Lordship the valuable information obtained during it.

The very favourable disposition in which the ruler of Lahore seemed to be at this juncture, encouraged Lord William Bentinck to hope, that a proposition for a personal meeting between himself and Runjeet Singh would be likely to be well received. He accordingly instructed Captain Wade, when at Lahore, on the occasion above related, to sound the chief's confidential advisers on the subject. As anticipated by his Lordship, the ruler of Lahore showed great desire for the meeting, but some difficulty was at first started in respect to the etiquette of a previous return mission, Runjeet Singh having paid his Lordship the compliment of sending one, similarly composed to that which waited on Lord Amherst. The mission had been received by Lord William Bentinck in April, soon after his arrival at Simla: its members were the Dewn Mootee Ram, son of Mohkum Chum, Huree Singh Sirdar, and the secretary, Fukeer Uzeezooddeen. They had been treated by the Governor-General with much distinction, and a return

mission of some of the principal officers of his Lordship's suite had been promised, or rather held out in expectation. The personal meeting between the heads of the two states would necessarily deprive Runjeet Singh of this compliment; for, in the first place, the time would scarcely allow of both, seeing that an intended journey of the Governor-General to Ajmeer and Rajpootana required, that, if arranged at all, the interview should take place before the end of October, and in the second, if a formal mission were sent, immediately before the meeting, it would have the appearance in the eyes of the world, of being sent to supplicate, or induce the ruler of the Sikhs to come to the interview, whereas the rank and position of the head of the British Government, required that the honour of a personal conference with him should be sought.

With a liberality, not inconsistent with his general character, Runjeet Singh, having made up his mind to the interview, gave up the point of etiquette, and preparation was made on both sides, for the meeting to take place on the Sutlege about the 20th of October, without any previous return mission; the neighbourhood of Rooper was subsequently fixed upon as the most appropriate and convenient spot for the meeting.

On the interview taking place, several days passed in pageantry and reviews, and both parties bid each other adieu with feelings of sincere and cordial friendship.

In 1835, a treaty was concluded with Runjeet, of which the following is an abstract copy:—

Article 1st.—A toll of 570 rupees to be levied on all merchandize in transit on the rivers Indus and Sutlege between the sea and Rooper, without reference to size of boats, or to the weight or value of cargo: this toll to be divided among the different states in proportion to the extent of territory which they possess on the banks of those rivers.

Article 2nd.—In right of territory appertaining to the Lahore chief, both on the right and left banks of those

rivers, a portion of the toll,—rupees 155-4 shall be levied opposite to Mitthunkote, on the former side, on boats coming from sea to Rooper; and rupees 67-15 in the vicinity of Hurreekee on the latter side, on boats going from Rooper towards the sea.

Article 3rd.—In order to facilitate realizing the toll due to different states, and for speedily and satisfactorily adjusting any disputes connected with the safety of the navigation and welfare of the trade, a British officer will reside opposite to Mitthunkote, and a native agent on the part of the British Government, opposite Hurreekee, who will both be subject to the orders of the British agent at Loodianah, and agents appointed by the other states interested in the navigation (viz. Bhawulpore and Scinde, together with those of Lahore) to reside at the above mentioned places, will co-operate with them in the execution of their duties.

Article 4th.—In order to guard against imposition on the part of merchants in falsely complaining of being plundered of property which formed no part of their cargoes, they are required on taking out their passports, to produce an invoice of their cargo, which being duly authenticated, a copy will be annexed to their passports; and whenever their boats may be brought to for the night, they are required to give immediate notice to the thanadars or officers of the place, and to request protection for themselves, at the same time showing the passports they may have received at Mitthunkote or Hurreekee, as the case may be.

Article 5th.—Such parts of the 5th, 7th, 9th, and 10th articles of the Treaty of the 26th Dec., 1832, having reference to fixing a duty on the value and quantity of merchandize, and to the mode of its collection, are hereby rescinded, and the foregoing articles substituted in their place, agreeably to which, and the condition of the preamble, the toll will be levied.

In the middle of 1838 was concluded the tripartite treaty, according to which Runjeet Singh was obliged to be aiding and assisting in the arrangements for restoring Shah Soojah

to the Caubul throne. The treaty also settled the limits of the territories of the respective sovereigns. In the end of the year the splendid spectacle of the meeting of the Governor-General and Runjeet Singh at Ferozepore, of which an account has been given in previous pages, took place. After the death of Runjeet Singh, no fresh treaties were entered into with his son and successor; but some rates of duty on boats navigating the Sutlege were agreed to with that unfortunate monarch, and they have hitherto remained undisturbed.

THE LATE BATTLES.

Busseean belonged to the Jeened state, and when that lapsed, was in the portion retained by the British Government. It is a pretty extensive place, has 2,500 inhabitants residing in about 500 houses of brick and mud; it has twenty shops, and one temple of Siva.

Wudnee, sixteen miles from Busseean.—The Wudnee purgunna was occupied some years back by the late Captain Murray as a lapse to the British Government; but Runjeet Singh, ever anxious to keep up his influence in the states south of the Sutlege, put in his claim: eventually I believe it was settled on the favourite son, Sheer Singh, and on his accession to the guddee became a portion of the Lahore possessions. To retain it, a garrison of 200 men (it would be almost a libel on the military profession to style them soldiers) is kept in the fort of Wudnee. The body of the place is of brick, and consists of a square of about a hundred yards with a low decagon tower, or bastion, at each corner and midway in each curtain: it is surrounded by a *fausse braie* of mud and encircled by a deep ditch. The bastion in the east face is prolonged and ends in a semicircle; through it is the entrance to the *enceinte:* access to the *fausse braie* is from the north, through a casemated circular bastion, and by a causeway across the ditch. On my riding towards the entrance, the man *sitting* sentry rose and closed the gate, and then informed me of its being *hookum naheen*, for strangers to visit the interior. What is contained within the wall I cannot therefore state, beyond is a small white temple of Siva, whose pinnacles are perceptible above the rampart. The brickwork is in good order, but the *fausse braie* is in a bad

condition. The village of Wudnee, Budnee, Woodnee, or Boodnee (it is called by all these names), is east of the fort, and is composed of about four hundred mud houses; the shops are thirty-five in number, and the inhabitants about two thousand, principally Sikhs, Brahmins, and Khetries.

Bhoga Purona, twelve miles from Busseean, belongs to Nehal Singh, Aloowala; it is a small village of about 150 mud houses and about 700 inhabitants, Sikhs and Mahomedans, principally the former. There are five shops, but no temple of any description; and as a symptom of verging on the desert, the three wells are about forty yards deep. The cultivation around is various,—wheat, barley, bajra, sesame, and mustard.

Moodkee, 16 miles from Bhoga Poorana, is a large village belonging to the Lahore Raj; contains about 600 houses (many of brick) and 4,000 inhabitants, Sikhs, Mahomedâns, and Hindoos. There are thirty shops in the village, and one hundred Lahore sepoys are on duty at the place.

Sooltaan Khan Walla, 13 miles from Moodkee, consists of about two hundred and fifty houses, of which but eight are of brick; the shops are ten in number; and the inhabitants amount to about twelve hundred, of the three religions. There is also a mosque of mud, and a small fortification of the same material. In November, 1838, the village was in great danger, if not partially burned, from the ignition of several haystacks by some followers of a brigade of the army of the Indus. Kool is about two miles distant, and when we were there the other day the bheesties had to come here for water. This place, Furreedkote, and fifty-eight other villages, belong to Sirdar Pahar Singh, who derives from them a revenue of rupees 48,000.—VIATOR, *in Delhi Gazette.*

TABLE OF HEIGHTS OF MOUNTAINS IN THE PUNJAUB.

	Feet.
Summit on the left bank of the Indus, in Rupshu,[1] lat. 33° 20′, long. 78°	27,000
Summit on frontier of Rupshu and Spiti,[2] about lat. 33°, long. 78° 30′	24,000
Limit of perpetual snow in Northern Spiti,[3] lat. 33° 30′, long. 78° 40′ . . .	22,000
Highest summit ascended by Gerard[4] on eastern frontier of Spiti, lat. 33° 5′, long. 78° 40′ . .	20,400
Mountain[5] rising north of Lake Chamoreril, lat. 33°, long. 78°	20,000
Diarmul or Nanga Parbut mountain,[6] north of Kashmir, lat. 35° 10′, long. 74° 20′ . . .	19,000
Summit of range[7] between the basins of the Beas and Sutlege, lat. 31° 40′, long. 77° 20′ . . .	18,000
Lacha[8] range, between Lahoul and Rupshu, lat. 32° 40′, long. 77° 20′	17,000
Bara Lacha, or Para Lassa Pass,[9] over Lacha range, about same lat. and long. as last	16,500
Skora,[10] as summit in Kouenlun or Mooz Taugh, north of Bultistan, about lat. 35° 30′ long. 76°	. 16,200

1 Gerard, Alex., Koonawur, 6.
2 As. Res. xviii. 225, Gerard, J. G., Obs. on Spiti.
3 Id. ut supra, 256. 4 Id. ut supra, 254. 5 Id. ut supra, 350.
6 Vigne, Kashmir, ii. 204.
7 Jour. As. Soc. Beng. 1841, p. 2, Broome and Cunningham, Jour. to Sources of Punjaub Rivers.
8 Gerard, quoted in note on Moorcr. Punj. Bokh. i. 215.
9 As. Jour. May—Aug. 1831, p. 90, Gerard, Jour. to Ladakh.
10 Falconer, as quoted in Royle's Bot. of Himalaya, Introd. xxiv.

	Feet.
Source of Surajbaga,[11] branch of the Chenaub, lat. 33° 12′, long. 77° 22′	16,200
Pass in the mountains north of Le,[12] lat. 34° 15′, long. 77° 20′	16,000
Table-land of Rupshu,[13] lat. 33°, long. 78°	16,000
Pass in Bultistan, between Iskardoh and Astor,[14] lat. 35° 14′, long. 75°	15,822
Kalee Debee Pass,[15] between Tandi and Chumba, lat. 32° 38′, long. 76° 24′	15,700
Boorgee Pass,[16] about lat. 35°, long. 75°	15,600
Thogjichenmo Lake,[17] in Rupshu, lat. 33° 18′, long. 77° 50′	15,500
Chamoreril Lake,[18] in Rupshu, lat. 32° 45′, long, 78° 20′	15,000
Tzakala,[19] in Ladakh, lat. 33° 20′, long. 78° 45′	15,000
Ritanka, or Rotung Pass,[20] lat. 32° 36′, long. 77° 11′	*13,300
Source of the Beas,[21] lat. 32° 34′, long. 77° 10′	†13,200
Deotsuh,[22] elevated desert between Kashmir and Iskardoh, lat. 34° 30′, long. 75°	13,100
Chaol Ghaut,[23] in Kooloo, between the basins of the Beas and Sutlege, lat. 31° 50′, long. 77° 10′	10,170
Koksur,[24] in Lahoul, lat. 32° 37′, long. 77° 10′	10,053
Le,[25]‡ lat. 34° 11′ long. 77° 14′	10,000
Tandi, in Lahoul,[26] lat. 32° 42′, long. 76° 57′	10,000

11 Gerard, as quoted in note to Moorcr. i. 215.
12 Vigne, Kashmir, ii. 358.
13 As. Res. xviii. 253, Gerard, Obs. on Spiti.
14 Falconer, in Royle's Bot. Him. Introd. xxvi.
15 Jour. As. Soc. Beng. 1841, p. 108, Cunningham, Jour. to Sources of Punjaub Rivers.
16 Falconer, in Royle's Introd. xxiv.
17 As. Res. xviii. 260, Gerard, on Spiti.
18 Gerard, ib.
19 Moorcr. i. 438.
20 Moorcr. i. 191.
21 Moorcr. i. 187.
22 Falconer, in Royle's Introd. xxiv.
23 Broome and Cunningham, 2.
24 Id. 5.
25 Vigne, Kashmir, ii. 341.
26 As. Jour. May—Aug. 1831, p. 90, Gerard, Journey to Ladakh.

* According to Broome, 13,000 feet. (1)
† According to Broome, 12,941 feet.
‡ According to Moorcroft, more than 11,000 feet. (2)

(1) Journ. As. Soc. Beng. 1841, p. 4.
(2) i. 252.

	Feet.
Mount over Acho Hamlet,[27] and confluence of Hasora and Indus, lat. 35° 18′, long. 74° 25′	9,000
Chuarhoo,[28] in the north-east of the Punjaub, lat. 32° 17′, long. 75° 46′	8,041
Pass over the Ratan Panjal,[29] on the route from Lahore to Kashmir, lat. 33° 30′, long. 74° 16′	7,350
Gurys Valley,[30] north-east of Kashmir, lat. 34° 33′, long. 74° 36′	7,200
Gau Ghautee,[31] in Kooloo, lat. 31° 35′, long. 77° 30′	7,093
Burmawur,[32] in the north-east of the Punjaub, lat. 32° 30′, long. 76° 30′	7,015
Hyderabad,[33] on the route from Punch to Baramula, lat. 34° 4′, long. 73° 54′	6,494
Iskardoh,[34] capital of Bulti, lat. 35° 10′, long. 75° 27′	6,300
Thana,[35] on the route from Lahore to Kashmir by the Pir Panjal Pass, lat. 33° 26′, long. 75° 28′	5,000
Burdrawar,[36] in the Northern Punjaub, between the Chenaub and Ravee, lat. 32° 54′, long. 75° 28′	5,000
Town of Punch,[37] lat. 33° 52′, long. 73° 52′	3,288
Height above Nekki,[38] about lat. 33° 18′, long. 73° 30′	3,270
Village of Nekki,[39] lat. 33° 16′. long. 73° 28′	3,436
Bed of Sutlege,[40] at Rampoor, lat. 32° 26′, long. 77° 38′	3,260
Chumba,[41] lat. 32° 22′ long. 75° 56′	3,015
Rajawar,[42] lat. 33° 18′, long. 74° 14′	2,800
Highest summit of Salt range,[43] lat. 32° 40′, long. 72° 30′	2,150
Nurpur,[44] lat. 32° 11′, long. 75° 40′	1,924
Village of Tobeur,[45] lat. 32° 36′, long. 72° 40′	1,663
Nar,[46] lat. 33° 14′, long. 73° 25′	1,624

27 Vigne, Kashmir, ii. 302.
28 Broome and Cunningham, 111.
29 Id. 113.
30 Vigne, Kashmir, ii. 267.
31 Broome and Cunningham, 1.
32 Id. 108.
33 Jacquem. v. 172.
34 Vigne, Kashmir, ii. 260.
35 Vigne, i. 252.
36 Id. i. 194.
37 Jacquem. v. 149.
38 Id. v. 146.
39 Id. ib.
40 Gerard, Koonawur, Tables in Appendix.
41 Broome and Cunningham, 110.
42 Id. 113.
43 Jacquem. v. 122.
44 Broome and Cunningham, 111.
45 Jacquem. v. 121.
46 Id. v. 143.

	Feet.
Jailum,[47] lat. 33° 2′, long. 73° 36′	1,620
Puthankot,[48] in the Northern Punjaub, at the base of the lowest range of the Himalaya, lat. 32° 13′, long. 75° 26′	1,205
Bed of the Indus at Attok, lat. 33° 54′, long. 72° 18′	*1,000
Amritsir,[49] lat. 31° 42′, long. 74° 47′	900
Lahore,[50] lat. 31° 36′, long. 74° 14′	900
Confluence of the Indus and Punjnud,[51] lat. 28° 55′, long. 70° 28′	220

47 F. Von Hugel, iii. 140. 48 Broome and Cunningham, 111.
49 Burnes, Bokh. iii. 50 Id. ib. 51 Id. ib.

* The height of Peshawur (1) above the sea is 1,068 feet. The stream which passes by Peshawur falls into the Caubul river about fourteen miles below the city, and, as its course lies through a plain, the fall to its confluence probably does not exceed two feet in a mile. From that confluence the course of the Caubul river to its junction with the Indus at Attok is about forty miles, and as it is navigable (2) for this distance, its fall cannot much exceed a foot per mile. This would make the elevation of the bed of the Indus at Attok about 1,000 feet.

(1) Hough, Narr. of Exp. in Affg. App. 74.
(2) Macartney, in Elph. Acc. of Caubul, 656; Wood, Oxus, 153.

